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LUDLOW'S MEMOIRS

C. H. FIRTH

VOL. II.

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THE MEMOIRS

OF

EDMUND LUDLOW

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE HORSE

IN THE

ARMY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND

1625—1672

EDITED WITH APPENDICES OF

LETTERS AND ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

BY

C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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MEMOIRS

OF

EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq.

THE design against the Spaniards in the West Indies having been, as was before related, unsuccessful, it was resolved to send three thousand men from Scotland and Ireland to reinforce the party in Jamaica, which from twelve thousand men was now reduced to little more than three thousand. The officers of this reinforcement were to be of such as were accounted dissatisfied with the present posture of affairs, and therefore thought unfit to remain here. Amongst the officers of the Scots regiment was a lieutenant-colonel, I think it was Lieut.-Col. Brain, who some time before had been cashiered for his affection to the Commonwealth, which was now esteemed the common enemy. But not having gained by his faithful services any competent subsistence, as mercenary officers generally know how to do, he was driven to the necessity of accepting the command of that regiment. 1656

According to their instructions they set sail for the place of rendezvous, where they were to meet those forces that were ordered to join them from Ireland. But a violent storm arising in their passage, this colonel, with about three

1656 November. hundred men, was cast away, the rest being driven on the coast of Ireland[1].

Great endeavours were used in Ireland to perswade Lieut.-Col. Walker, an honest man and a good officer, to undertake the command of those forces that were ordered to be sent from thence; but he perceiving the design, and being throughly sensible that this offer was not made to him from any affection to his person, or sense of his services, refused to bite at the bait, tho it was gilded as much as might be, by advancing a considerable sum, and satisfying the arrears of those that went out of the forfeited lands in such places as they should chuse. Upon his refusal, Major Moor accepted the imployment with the title of Colonel; but on condition that after he had conducted the men to Jamaica, he should have liberty to return, which he did after many difficulties and hazards of his person[2]. Capt. Chester, a stout man, and one who at a general council of officers had openly expressed his discontent against the usurpation, was also perswaded to engage in this service, and lost his life in the expedition.

Cromwel perceiving he could not compass his designs against Spain by his own power, entred into an alliance with the French, who by the treaty with him obliged themselves not to permit the sons of the late King to remain in any part of France; which article was punctually performed. For such is the mystery, or rather knavery of those governments that are framed to support an arbitrary power, that they will not scruple to sacrifice the best friends and nearest relations when they stand in the way of their designs. This confederacy was dearly purchased on our part; for by it the balance of the two crowns of Spain and

[1] Lieut.-Col. Bramston and about 200 soldiers were lost in the wreck of the ship 'Two Brothers' off the coast of Ireland. Thurloe, v. 558; Clarke MSS. xxviii. 109. Bramston had been implicated in what was known as Overton's plot in Dec. 1654, and was actually cashiered Mercurius. Politicus, pp. 5049, 5165. Ludlow confuses him with Col. William Brayne, who sailed about the same time for Jamaica. Thurloe, v. 558, 668.

[2] On Col. William Moore see Thurloe, v. 366, 474, 494; vi. 392. His regiment was shipped for Jamaica in Oct. 1656.

France was destroyed, and a foundation laid for the future greatness of the French, to the unspeakable prejudice of all Europe in general, and of this nation in particular, whose interest it had been to that time accounted to maintain that equality as near as might be[1]. 1656

In the mean time the Major-Generals carried things with unheard of insolence in their several precincts, decimating to extremity whom they pleased, and interrupting the proceedings at law upon petitions of those who pretended themselves aggrieved; threatning such as would not yield a ready submission to their orders, with transportation to Jamaica or some other plantations in the West Indies; and suffering none to escape their persecution, but those that would betray their own party, by discovering the persons that had acted with them or for them. And here I cannot omit to mention a farmer in Barkshire, who being demanded to pay his tenth, desired to know of the commissioners, in case he did so, what security he should have for the other nine parts: and answer being made that he should have Cromwel's order and theirs for the enjoyment of the rest; he replied, 'that he had already an Act of Parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good security as they could give. But,' said he, 'if goodman such a one,' and another whom he named of his neighbours, 'will give me their bond for it, I know what to say to such a proposal; for if they break their agreement, I know where to right my self; but these swordmen are too strong for me.'

A squadron of our ships cruizing off the coast of Spain, met with and fought five ships returning thither from the West Indies, which had on board a Spanish marquiss, who Sept. 9.

[1] A list of the persons whose expulsion from France was demanded by Cromwell is given by Guizot, Cromwell and the English Commonwealth, ii. 468. A treaty of Peace and Commerce between Cromwell and Louis XIV was finally signed on Oct. 24, 1655, followed in May, 1657, by an offensive and defensive alliance. For the text of the second treaty see Guizot, ii. 562. The opinion stated as to the consequences of Cromwell's alliance with France is that generally adopted by the politicians of the next half century. See Slingsby Bethell's tract 'The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell,' and Bolingbroke's 'Letters on the Study of History.'

1656 with his family and great wealth acquired in his government there, was coming back to Spain. The Spaniards defended themselves as well as they could; but the marquiss thinking it impossible to escape, set fire to the ship wherein he was, and with most of his family was burnt in her. Of the other four one was sunk in the fight, another made her escape, and two were taken, on board of one of which was the son of the said marquiss [1]. It was reported that in the two ships taken there was found about three millions in bullion, which was brought in triumph by carts from Portsmouth to London, in order to be coined at the Tower.

The siege of Dunkirk being undertaken by the French, their confederate Cromwel sent a body of men, in number about six thousand, for the most part foot, to their assistance. The Cavalier party under the Duke of York joined themselves to the Spaniards, who endeavoured with an army to relieve the place; and having sent a party to possess
1658 themselves of a sand-hill, so galled the English from
June 3. thence, that they resolved, if possible, to remove them from that post. The ground was so deep and loose, that they could not without extreme difficulty march up the hill; yet at last they effected it, and having put the Spaniards to flight, pursued them to their main body: but having engaged themselves too far, and being overpowered by great numbers of horse and foot, (the French leaving the whole stress of the fight upon them) they were in danger of being entirely cut off; which being perceived by Major-General Drummond, a Scots officer who served with the English as a volunteer, he rode up to the French horse, and by reproaching them with treachery and negligence, procured a party of horse to be sent to their succour [2].

[1] See the letter of Captain Richard Stayner to Admirals Blake and Montague, Mercurius Politicus, p. 7290; Thurloe, v. 399, 433. This is the capture celebrated in Waller's poem 'Of a war with Spain and Fight at Sea by General Montague in the year 1656.'

[2] On the battle of Dunkirk see Thurloe, vii. 155-160. Col. Drummond was mortally wounded; ib. pp. 174, 216. The story of the English Campaign in Flanders is treated at length in Waylen's House of Cromwell, 1880, and in Bourelly's Deux campagnes de Turenne, 1886.

Upon the arrival of this seasonable relief, the English took fresh courage, renewed their attack, and killed a great number of the enemy; many of those that were killed on the enemy's side were English and Irish that fought under the Duke of York. And as it was confessed by all present, that the English who took part with the French, behaved themselves with more bravery than any in the field that day; so it was observed, that those of the Cavalier party who had joined with the Spaniards, behaved themselves worst. Soon after this battle the town of Dunkirk was surrendered to the French, and delivered into the hands of the English, as it had been agreed between Cromwel and Cardinal Mazarine. 1658

It being thought fit to fortify divers places of importance in Scotland, Cromwel appointed a considerable sum of money to be expended on the works of Ayre, Dundee, Leith, St. Johns-town, Sterling, &c., and had so balanced the several interests in his councils there, that tho Monk generally favoured the more loose and vitious party amongst the Scots, yet there were not wanting some who supported an honester sort of men, that were not willing to permit their King to return without conditions. The Lord Broghil had been of great use to moderate these two parties; but being much afflicted with the gout, and the air of Scotland not agreeing with his distemper'd body, he desired Cromwel to grant him leave to return to Ireland, according to his promise, the year of his residence in Scotland being now expired. Cromwel not willing to comply with his desires in this particular, dispatched instructions to his son Henry in Ireland by all means to procure a petition from the discontented party, against the Lord Broghil's return thither. To this end Sir Hardress Waller suspecting that the presence of this lord might eclipse his greatness, became an earnest solicitor to Adjutant-General Allen, and Quartermaster General Vernon, to join in a petition to that effect. But they perceiving the design, not only refused so to do, but plainly told him that they were ready to join in a petition for his coming, it being impossible to be worse with them

1656 than now it was. This discourse being reported to Col. Henry Cromwel with an insinuation, that it was to be suspected that there was some design carrying on by the Lord Broghil and the dissatisfied party in Ireland, he sent an account of it to his father, and desired that he would not by any means permit him to return thither [1].

Divers conspiracies that had been formed against the Government of the usurper being already defeated, and the authors of them for the most part punished, he was prevailed with to permit Major-General Harrison and Mr. Carew, whom he had sent to remote confinements, to be prisoners at their own habitations; and accordingly he ordered Major Strange to go to Carisbrook Castle, and to bring the Major-General from thence to his house at Highgate [2]: where when I was acquainted with his arrival, I went to make him a visit, and having told him that I was very desirous to be informed by him of the reasons that moved him to join with Cromwel in the interruption of the civil authority [3]; he answered that he had done it, 'because he was fully persuaded they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his people [4].' 'Then,' said I, 'are you

[1] On May 13, 1656, Broghil begged leave to come to England; in Aug. he obtained leave, and went to Bath for the benefit of his gout. In Aug., 1657, he returned to Ireland, coming back to England in Nov. In April, 1658, he thought of retiring from public affairs altogether and retiring permanently to Ireland, mainly on account of his bad health. There appears to be no foundation for Ludlow's story of the jealousy of Henry Cromwell against Broghil. Thurloe, v. 18, 326, 665; vi. 468, 622; vii. 58.

[2] 'Upon the 20th of the first month 1656, came Captain Lloyd and Major Strange, with an order from Whitehall to remove Major-Gen. Harrison from us to Highgate to his own house, a prisoner, under pretence of the very desperate danger of death his father the Colonel was in, as also his dear yoke-fellow so near the time of her travail.' Life of John Rogers, p. 277.

[3] Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell April 15, 1656, on the Anabaptists and fifth-monarchy men. 'There are some few of these in London... Those who reteyne these principles flocke to Harrison, who continues at his father-in-lawe's house at Highgate, where he spares not to speak his mind freely to them who come to visit hym, which I doe not heare are many.' Thurloe, iv. 698.

[4] 'Afterwards,' said Harrison in 1660, 'I was glad the thing was done, for I did see they did intend to perpetuate themselves, without doing those desirable things which were expected and longed for by the

not now convinced of your error, in entertaining such thoughts, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power?' To which he replied, 'Upon their heads be the guilt, who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part, my heart was upright and sincere in the thing.' I answered, 'that I conceived it not to be sufficient in matters of so great importance to mankind, to have only good intentions and designs, unless there be also probable means of attaining those ends by the methods we enter upon; and tho it should be granted that the parliament was not inclined to make so full a reformation of things amiss as might be desired, yet I could not doubt that they would have done as much good for us, as the nation was fitted to receive; and therefore that extraordinary means ought not to have been used, till it had been clearly evident that the ordinary had failed, especially since it could not but be manifest to every man, who observed the state of our affairs, that upon the suppression of the civil authority, the power would immediately devolve upon that person who had the greatest interest in the army.' His second reason for joining with Cromwel was, because he pretended to own and favour a sort of men, who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty. I replied, that I thought him mistaken in that also, since it had not appeared that he ever approved of any persons or things farther than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious designs; reminding him that the generality of the people that had engag'd with us having acted upon no higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner upon any pretences whatsoever. The Major-General then cited a passage of the prophet Daniel, where 'tis said, 'That the saints shall take the kingdom and possess it.' To which he added another to the same effect, 1656

Lord's people; and apprehending that God had done his work by them, and that he had some worthy persons to come upon the stage.' Collection of Lives and Speeches of those persons lately executed, 1661, p. 10.

1656 'That the kingdom shall not be left to another people.' I answered, that the same prophet says in another place, 'That the kingdom shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High.' And that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given, they would at the best be guilty of doing evil, that good might come from it: for to deprive those of their right in the Government, who had contended for it equally with our selves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us: that such proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable, at least for the present; because we cannot perceive that the saints are clothed with such a spirit, as those are required to be to whom the kingdom is promised; and therefore we may easily be deceived in judging who are fit for Government, for many have taken upon them the form of saintship, that they might be admitted to it, who yet have not acted sutably to their pretensions in the sight of God or men: for proof of which we need go no further than to those very persons who had drawn him to assist them in their design of exalting themselves, under the specious pretence of advancing the kingdom of Christ. He confessed himself not able to answer the arguments I had used; yet said, 'he was not convinced that the texts of Scripture quoted by him were not to be interpreted in the sense he had taken them,' and therefore desired a farther conference with me at another time, when each of us might be accompanied with some friends to assist us in the clearing of this matter. I consented to his proposal, and so we parted; but from that time forward we had not an opportunity to discourse farther upon this subject.

About the same time Mr. Peters, who still kept fair with those at Whitehall, made me a visit; and in our conversation about the public affairs I freely told him my opinion concerning the actions of Cromwel, endeavouring to make him sensible not only of his injustice, but great imprudence, thus to sacrifice the common cause to his ambition, and by every step he had lately taken to strengthen the hands of the common enemy, whereby he

would undoubtedly open a way for the return of the family of the late king, who would not fail to do all that revenge could inspire them with: whereas if he had made use of his power to establish the just liberties of the nation, or could yet be perswaded so to do, he might live more honoured and esteemed, have the pleasure and satisfaction arising from so generous an action when he died, and leave his own family, together with the whole body of the people, in a most happy and flourishing condition. He confessed that what I had said was most true, but added, that there was not a man about him who had courage enough to tell him so: that for his part he had observed him immediately after the victory at Worcester to be so elevated, that he then began to fear what was since come to pass; and that he told a friend with whom he then quartered in his return to London, that he was inclined to believe Cromwel would endeavour to make himself king. 1656

The usurper having governed as he thought long enough by virtue of the Instrument of Government, which tho drawn up by himself and his creatures, was now thought to lay too great a restraint upon his ambitious spirit; and resolving to rest satisfied with nothing less than the succession of his family to the Crown, he attempted to make himself King. To this end he thought it necessary to call a Parliament[1]: and that he might engage the army to assist him in all parts to procure such men to be chosen as would be fit for his purpose, he pretended that this assembly was called only in order to raise money for the paiment of the army and fleet, to confirm the authority of the Major-Generals, and that of the Instrument of Government. By this means he obtained his desires in a great measure, especially in Scotland and Ireland, where all kinds of artifice, and in many places the most irregular

[1] The summoning of a new Parliament seems to have been decided, and the subjects to be laid before it determined, in an assembly of the Protector's councillors and the leading officers of the Army, held in June 1656. See Thurloe, v. 54, 63, 122, 175, 176; Ranke, History of England, iii. 167; Burton's Diary, i. 384; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1655-56, p. 209.

1656 courses, were taken to get such men returned as were proposed by the court. But knowing the people of England not to be of so mercenary a spirit; and that as they were better instructed in the principles of civil liberty, so they were not wanting in courage to assert it, he used his utmost endeavours to disable and incapacitate such men from being chosen, whom he thought most likely to obstruct his designs. In order to this he summoned the Lord President
July Bradshaw, Sir Henry Vane, Col. Rich, and my self, to appear before him in Council: which we all did except Sir Henry Vane, who told the messenger he should be at his house at Charing-Cross on a certain day. Cromwel, as
Aug. soon as he saw the Lord President, required him to take out a new commission for his office of Chief Justice of Chester, which he refused, alledging that he held that place by a grant from the Parliament of England to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserit.* And whether he had carried himself with that integrity which his commission exacted from him, he was ready to submit to a trial by twelve English men, to be chosen even by Cromwel himself. Col. Rich being pressed to give security not to act against the Government, and refusing so to do, was sent prisoner to Windsor Castle[1]. Then I drew near to the council-table, where Cromwel charged me with dispersing treasonable books in Ireland, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army disaffected, by discoursing to them concerning new models of Government. I acknowledged that I had caused some papers to be dispersed in Ireland, but denied that they justly could be called treasonable. And tho I knew not that it was a crime to debate of the several forms of Government, yet that I had not done any thing of that nature lately to the best of my remembrance. He then said, that he was not ignorant of the many plots

[1] Aug. 14, 1656, Col. Nathaniel Rich was ordered to be arrested and conveyed to Windsor. On Oct. 14 he was ordered to be released and confined to his own house at Eltham. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1656–7, pp. 71, 130. A curious letter from Rich to Fleetwood, written about this time, is printed in Thurloe, vi. 251. John Carew and Hugh Courtney, imprisoned since Feb. 1655, were also released in Oct. 1656.

that were on foot to disturb the present power, and that he thought it his duty to secure such as he suspected. To this I replied, that there were two duties required by God of the magistrate, i. e. that he be a terror to those that do evil, and a praise to such as do well; and whether my actions were good or bad, I was ready to submit to a legal trial: that I was ignorant of any other way to secure the magistrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magistrate, unless both will do that which is just and good. 'You do well,' said he, 'to reflect on our fears; yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from any motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to forsee and prevent danger: that had I done as I should, I ought to have secured you immediately upon your coming into England, or at least when you desired to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival; and therefore I now require you to give assurance not to act against the Government.' I desired to be excused in that particular, reminding him of the reasons I had formerly given him for my refusal, adding, that I was in his power, and that he might use me as he thought fit. 'Pray then,' said he, 'what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you desire more than you have?' 'It were easy,' said I, 'to tell what we would have.' 'What is that, I pray?' said he. 'That which we fought for,' said I, 'that the nation might be governed by its own consent.' 'I am,' said he, 'as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent? Amongst the Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or Leveling Parties?' I answered, 'Amongst those of all sorts who had acted with fidelity and affection to the publick.' Then he fell into the commendation of his own government, boasting of the protection and quiet which the people enjoyed under it, saying, that he was resolved to keep the nation from being imbrued in blood. I said that I was of opinion too much blood had been already shed, unless there were a better account of it. 'You do well,' said he, 'to charge us with the guilt of blood; 1656

1656 but we think there is a good return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniard and those of your party, who make use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them.' 'I know not,' said I, 'what you mean by my party, and can truly say, that if any men have entred into an engagement with Spain, they have had no advice from me so to do, and that if they will use my name I cannot help it.' Then in a softer way he told me, that he desired not to put any more hardships on me than on himself; that he had been always ready to do me all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aimed at nothing by this proceeding, but the publick quiet and security. 'Truly, sir,' said I, 'I know not why you should be an enemy to me who have been faithful to you in all your difficulties.' 'I understand not,' said he, 'what you mean by my difficulties. I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the publick; for in respect to my outward condition I have not much improved it, as these gentlemen,' pointing to his Council, 'well know.' To which they seemed to assent, by rising from their chairs; and therefore I thought not fit to insist farther on that point, contenting my self to say, that it was from that duty which I owed to the publick, whereof he expressed such a peculiar regard, that I durst not give the security he desired, because I conceived it to be against the liberty of the people, and contrary to the known law of England. For proof of this I produced an Act of Parliament for restraining the Council-table from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England; and in case they should do so, requiring the Justices of the Upper Bench, upon the application of the aggrieved party, to grant his 'Habeas Corpus,' and to give him considerable damages. To this act I supposed he gave his free vote, assuring him, that for my own part I durst not do any thing that should tend to the violation of it. 'But,' said he, 'did not the army and Council of State commit persons to prison?' I answered, 'that the Council of State did so, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them

by the Parliament; and if the army had sometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the persons secured to a legal trial; whereas it is now pretended that we live in a time of peace, and are to be governed by the known laws of the land.' 'A Justice of Peace,' said he, 'may commit, and shall not I?' 'He is,' said I, 'a legal officer, and authorized by the law to do so, which you could not be, tho you were King; because if you do wrong therein, no remedy can be had against you. Therefore if I have offended against the law, I desire to be referred to a Justice of the Peace, that I may be proceeded with according to law; but if I have done nothing to deserve a restraint, that then I may have my liberty.' Whereupon being commanded to withdraw into a room next to the Council-Chamber, I heard Major-General Lambert to advise that I might be peremptorily required to give the security demanded. But Cromwel said, that the air of Ireland was good, that I had a house there, and therefore he thought it best to send me thither. Immediately after Mr. Scobel, one of the clerks of the Council, came to me, and acquainted me, that I might return to my lodging; where I had not been a quarter of an hour before Mr. Strickland, one of the Council, came to me, and pressed me earnestly to comply: but I told him, that having contended for the liberty of others, I was not willing to give away my own, and to be made a precedent to the prejudice of my country-men, because it was the pleasure of those that had the sword to have it so. 'Why,' said he, 'was it not the sword by which you kept Warder Castle, and by which you acted during the whole course of the late war?' 'I had,' said I,' 'the authority of the Parliament to justify me in so doing.' He answered, 'but they governed by the sword.' To which I replied, that indeed they made use of the sword to remove the obstructions that were in the way of the civil Government, and exercised that power to vindicate and establish the law of the land; and that I was heartily sorry to see one who had been so forward in the cause of the publick, not to discern

1656

1656 any difference between a sword in the hands of a Parliament to restore the people to their antient rights, and
Aug. 1. a sword in the hands of a tyrant to rob and despoil them thereof. Here our discourse was interrupted by a messenger who came from the Council with an order from them, to require me to give the security of five thousand pounds within three days after the date of the order, not to do any thing prejudicial to the present government; and in case of failure, to be taken into custody. Upon the receipt of it I told the messenger, that having no power to
Aug. 6. resist, I must submit to their pleasure[1]. A day or two after the expiration of the time limited by the order for giving the demanded security, which I had not done. Serjeant Dendy came to me with another from the Council, signed by Henry Lawrence, president, requiring and authorizing him to take me into custody. Having shewn me the order, he desired me to make choice of a chamber; but after some discourse with my near relations, who were then present, he was contented to let me remain at my lodgings. So having promised to return in a day or two, and in the mean time to advise with Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, he went away. The next day Cromwel diverting himself with hunting at Hampton-Court, asked my brother Thomas Ludlow, who was in the company, if he were not angry with him for committing me? And my brother answering, that it was not fit for him to judg concerning his actions: he thereupon assured him, that he wished me as well as any of his own children: that his desiring me to give security for my carriage to the government, was designed by him as well for my good as for his own security, and

[1] The proceedings of the Council of State contain the following orders respecting Ludlow:—Aug. 1, 1656. If Col. Ludlow do not between now and next Tuesday give security before the Clerk of the Council, with sufficient sureties in £5000, to do nothing prejudicial to the Commonwealth, he shall be taken into custody and stand committed. Aug. 6. Warrant to Serj. Dendy that as Col. Ludlow has not given security according to the purport of his Highness and Council's order of Aug. 1, you are to take him and keep him in safe custody till you receive further order. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1656-7, pp. 50, 59.

that he would have him to engage for me; to which he most readily consented. The morning following my brother came to me, and having acquainted me with what had passed between Cromwel and himself, I gave him thanks for his kind offer, but withal told him, that I would by no means desire that of him which I was not willing to do my self. Besides I told him, that should it be granted that the thing were fit for him to do, yet it might prove a snare to him, and lay an obligation upon him to gratify the usurper in another way. However after this discourse of Cromwel to my brother, and the conference of my relations with Serjeant Dendy, I ventured to accompany my father and mother Oldsworth, with my wife, into Essex, where we spent the remaining part of that summer. My stay there did in some measure answer the design of Cromwel, which was to keep me out of my own country, where he doubted I might obstruct the election of such persons as the Court had resolved by all methods to procure to be returned. But there was no need to fear my intermedling in that particular at such a time; and if I had, it should have been only to give a publick testimony against any election at all, the Long Parliament being still in being, tho under a present force. Besides, it was manifest that the designed assembly was to be called for no other end than to strengthen the sword, and to advance the corrupt interest of him that called them together; and if it should happen that they had either the courage or honesty to attempt any thing for the service of the publick, I was assured their endeavours would be rendred fruitless by a sudden dissipation. 1656

Sir Henry Vane, according to his promise, being come to his house near Charing-Cross, the Council sent a messenger thither to require him to attend them, which he did, and was there charged by Cromwel with disaffection to the government, which he had demonstrated by a late writing published by him, with a seditious intention. The paper was called 'A Healing Question proposed and resolved,' and contained the state of our controversy with the King, the present deviation from that cause for which we engaged, Aug. 21.

1656 and the means to unite all parties in attaining the accomplishment of it [1]. It was written upon an invitation given in a declaration published by Cromwel for a general fast, wherein it was desired that the people would apply themselves to the Lord to discover that Achan which had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted nations. When it was finished, he shewed it to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who seeming to approve it, desired to take it with him, and promised to communicate it to Cromwel upon the first opportunity that should be offered. Sir Henry did not disown either his dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, or the publication of the discourse before-mentioned. So that Cromwel thought fit to require him, by a day limited, to give security not to act against him. Which time being expired, he appeared again before the Council, and delivered into Cromwel's own hand another paper, containing the reasons of his disapproving the present usurpation, and a friendly advice to him to return to his duty, with some justification of his own conduct with relation to the publick. But notwithstanding all this, and divers reasons alledged by him to excuse himself from
Sept. 4. giving the demanded security, he was sent prisoner to Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight. The President Bradshaw, notwithstanding what had passed, resolved to go his circuit as Chief Justice of Chester, unless he should be prevented by force. But it was thought more advisable to permit him to execute his office, than by putting a stop to his circuit, to make a breach with those of the long robe, whose assistance was so necessary to the carrying on of Cromwel's design [2]. Yet that neither he, nor, if possible,

[1] See 'The Proceeds of the Protector (so called) and his Council against Sir Henry Vane, knight—published by a reall wellwisher to Sion's prosperity and England's liberty,' 1656. This contains Vane's letters and the paper he delivered to Cromwell. The Healing Question is reprinted in the Somers Tracts, ed. Scott, vi. 303; cf. Thurloe, v. 122, 299, 317, 328, 349; vi. 185.

[2] On Aug. 1 the Council of State ordered Serjeant Bradshaw to be discharged from the office of Chief Justice of Chester and Justice of Assize for Cos. Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery, and his Highness advised to appoint some other fit

any other persons who had continued faithful to the Commonwealth, might be chosen members of the approaching assembly, letters were dispatched to all parts of England to give notice that it would be resented, if such persons were elected; one of which was publickly read at the election for Chester, to deter men from appearing for the President. In Wiltshire a more numerous party appearing for me than was expected, they were assured by some creatures of Cromwel that I was a prisoner in the Tower, and by one who had formerly served under me, that I had declared to him that I would not be chosen. Yet for all this the people persisting in their resolution to elect me, the Deputy-Major-General of the county demanded of them, whether they intended to have a new war that they designed to make choice of me? By such arts the emissaries of the court caused the elections in most places to be decided in favour of such as pleased them[1]. For my own part, tho I had resolved not to stand, for reasons which I mentioned before, and on that account had not directly or indirectly spoken or written to any person to appear for me; yet I must acknowledg I was not dissatisfied that so considerable a number of my country-men were not afraid to own and accept that service (how small soever) that I had done in the common cause. The court finding by the lists they had received, that notwithstanding all their menaces, promises, and other artifices, divers persons were chosen whom they knew to be no favourers of the usurpation, resolved to clear their hands of them at once. And to that end, under colour of a clause in the Instrument of Govern- 1656

person. Afterwards on Sept. 29, they voted that John Bradshaw serjeant at law be permitted to go his circuit, &c. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1656–7, pp. 50, 117.

[1] The letters of the Major-Generals and other accounts of the elections prove the pressure exercised by the Government. On the elections in England see Thurloe, v. 215, 220, 286, 296–9, 302–4, 308–9, 313, 317, 328–9, 337, 349, 353, 370, 382, 396; on the Scotch elections, pp. 276, 295, 322, 366; on the Irish elections, pp. 213, 229, 278, 327, 336, 343. The opposition circulated a pamphlet entitled 'England's Remembrancers, Or a word in season to all Englishmen about their elections of the members for the approaching Parliament;' ib. v. 268, 342. See also Heath's Chronicle, p. 705.

1656 ment, that none should be admitted to places of power and trust but such as were men of sincerity and integrity, they gave an exclusion to Sir Arthur Haslerig and Mr. Scott, with as many more as they thought fit[1]. By this means, and the refusal of others to take out their permissions to sit from Cromwel and his council, as was required, lest they should seem to countenance such a detestable imposition and open breach of privilege, it came to pass that about
Sept. 17. a hundred of those who were elected by the country were excluded from the discharge of their trust, whilst those for Ireland and Scotland, who were chosen by and for the sword, were admitted without any scruple. Those that
Sept. 18. were excluded presented a petition to the sitting members, acquainting them, that being chosen by the country to serve with them, they were ready to discharge their duty, but were prevented from doing the same by the power of the sword, and refused admittance into the House by a guard of souldiers. After the petition had been read, a committee was sent to inquire of Cromwel and his council concerning the reasons of that proceeding, who returned with this answer: that if the persons complaining would address themselves to them, they should be relieved if there was cause. With this answer these men who would be accounted an English Parliament acquiesced, leaving their privileges unvindicated, and the merit of elections to Parliament to be adjudged by men without doors. Then they proceeded to prepare divers bills, which tended chiefly to gratify the souldiery, and such persons as had received grants of land from Cromwel and his council, which were confirmed to them. Yet for all this harmony there were sometimes bitter reflections cast upon the proceedings of the Major-Generals by the lawyers and country gentlemen, who accused them to have done many things oppressive to the people, in interrupting the course of the law, and threatning such as would not submit to their arbitrary orders with

[1] C. J. vii. 424-6; Old Parliamentary History, xxi. 26-38; Thurloe, v. 427, 453, 456, 490. Major-General Kelsey urgently recommended the imposition of this test. Thurloe, v. 384; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1656-7, p. 87.

transportation beyond the seas. On the other hand the Major-Generals insisted vehemently with the assembly to confirm the Instrument of Government, and to establish their authority in particular: and when it was proposed by some who were unwilling to settle such an arbitrary power by a law, that to compose these differences an Act of Indemnity should be granted for what was past, one of the Major-Generals had the insolence to say, they would not thank them for that; for whilst they had their swords by their sides, they could protect and indemnify themselves. So confident was the souldiery grown, that they durst openly avow themselves to be our lords and masters. But the lawyers and others of the assembly having privately received encouragement from those who were more powerful than the Major-Generals, desisted not from endeavouring the suppression of their authority, loading them with many heavy accusations, for which they had given but too just cause. Yet the Major-Generals, confident of the strength of their party, moved for a day when the Instrument of Government, and the confirmation of their power, should be debated; which having obtained, and the time come, they moved that the whole Instrument might be confirmed at once; but that being rejected, it was debated in parts. When the power of the Major-Generals came under consideration, all men were in great expectation concerning the issue of it[1]. It was supposed that Cromwel, who had erected their authority, and engaged them in those actions for which they were now become odious, would support them against all attempts; because there appeared now no way so probable to maintain his own power, as by keeping the army firmly united to him. But ambition had corrupted his understanding to that degree, that he made no scruple 1656

[1] On Dec. 25, 1656, Major-General Disbrowe brought in a bill for continuance of a tax upon some people for the maintenance of the Militia. Burton's Diary, i. 230–243. Leave was given to bring in the bill by 88 to 63 votes. In the debate on the second reading of the bill, Jan. 7, Claypole and Broghil led the opposition; ib. 310–321, 368. See Thurloe, v. 786; vi. 7, 20, 37. The bill was thrown out on the second reading, Jan. 26, by 124 to 88 votes. C. J. vii. 483.

1656 to sacrifice these men, who, to say no worse, had enlarged their consciences to an extraordinary size in the execution of his orders, to those who in requital of the favour had
1657 promised to make him King. Hitherto he had given good
Jan. 7. words to the Major-Generals; but when their power came to be debated, Mr. Cleypole his son-in-law first stood up, which was unusual for him to do at all, and told the House, that he could but start the game, and must leave those who had more experience to follow the chace: and therefore should only say, that he had formerly thought it necessary in respect to the condition in which the nation had been, that the Major-Generals should be entrusted with the authority which they had exercised; but in the present state of affairs he conceived it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people, to continue their power any longer. This motion was a clear direction to the sycophants of the court, who being fully perswaded that Cleypole had delivered the sense, if not the very words of Cromwel in this matter, joined as one man in opposing the Major-Generals, and so their authority was abrogated.

Soon after Col. William Jephson, one of the members that served for Ireland, moved in the House, that Cromwel might be made King[1]; but matters not being throughly concerted, it had no other effect than to sound the inclinations of the Assembly[2]. Cromwel having notice of this motion, as he had of every thing that passed, reproved the Colonel

[1] There is no note of Jephson's motion either in the Journals or in Burton's Diary. The first suggestion that Cromwell should take the title of King seems to have been made by Mr. Ashe, the elder, on Jan. 19, 1657. Burton, i. 362. Downing spoke strongly in support of the suggestion, but Jephson said nothing for or against. Jephson was strongly in favour of kingship; on May 27, in a discussion on the question of the title to be given to Cromwell, he said, 'There are some so out of love with those four letters that we must, I think, have an act to expunge them out of the alphabet, and that is my humble motion.' Burton, ii. 140. Packer, in a speech made in 1659, speaking of the 1656 Parliament, said, 'This Parliament went on very successfully . . . suddenly and unexpectedly one that is now dead, Major-General Jephson, made a motion to break in upon this,' referring to the motion mentioned by Ludlow; ib. iii. 160.

[2] Ludlow pointedly uses the word 'assembly' instead of 'parliament.'

gently at table for it, telling him, that he wondred what he could mean by such a proposition. To which the other answered, that whilst he was permitted the honour of sitting in that House, he must desire the liberty to discharge his conscience, tho his opinion should happen to displease. Whereupon Cromwel clapping him on the shoulder said, 'Get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art.' But it soon appeared with what madness he was possessed; for he immediately obtained a foot company for his son, then a scholar at Oxford, and a troop of horse for himself: and not long after was sent agent to the crown of Sweden, with a considerable allowance appointed to defray the expences of his journey thither [1]. 1657 August.

Many objections being made in the House against the Instrument of Government, Cromwel, who was vehemently desirous to be a King, began to think it altogether insignificant to that purpose, and that it would be more conducing to his design if a new form were drawn up, and presented to the Assembly for their approbation. Accordingly it was prepared by his creatures, and brought into the House by Mr. Pack, an alderman of London, where it was without much difficulty read, and appeared to be a shoe fitted to the foot of a monarch, tho at present a blank was left for the title of the single person, who with two Houses was to have the supreme legislative power [2]. Feb. 23.

Those who were of the Major-Generals and souldiers' party finding that Cromwel was abandoning them to espouse another interest, struck in with those who still retained some affection to the Commonwealth: and all together perceiving that these new measures had been advised by the craft of our old enemy, to make use of Cromwel's

[1] Jephson's instructions are dated Aug. 22, 1657. He set out on Aug. 29. A number of his letters dealing with the progress of his mission are printed in Thurloe's papers, and some from Jephson to Henry Cromwell are amongst the Lansdowne MSS. Thurloe, vi. 478; Masson, Life of Milton, v. 370-3; D. N. B. xxix. 335.

[2] On Pack's motion see Burton's Diary, i. 378; iii. 160; C. J. vii. 496; Thurloe, vi. 75. It was generally observed that Pack was at the time debtor to the state for a large sum of money. Heath's Chronicle, p. 712; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1656-7, p. 253.

1657 ambition as the only probable means to reduce us to our former servitude, fell so furiously upon Pack for his great presumption in bringing a business of that nature into the House, in such an unparliamentary way, that they bore him down from the Speaker's chair to the bar of the House of Commons. But this heat being soon over, the Lord Broghil, Serjeant Glynn, and others, who were acquainted with Cromwel's design, endeavoured to perswade the House to debate the new form, telling them, that being masters of their own resolutions, they might retain as much of it as was good, and reject what was not so. By this means they brought it to be debated; and tho they received some opposition therein, yet when it came to be put to the question, they carried all before them, and grew so hardy to move that the blank left for the insertion of the title of the Chief Magistrate might be filled up with the name of
March 25. King[1]. This motion, tho earnestly opposed by Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, was carried also, and the name voted, together with the filling up the two blanks left for the two Houses, with the words, House of Commons, and Other House. The latter of these was resolved to consist of seventy persons to be nominated by Cromwel, and to be approved by the Assembly then sitting. But Cromwel being acquainted with that resolution, and disliking it, as unreasonable that gentlemen's names should be canvassed, and it may be their persons reflected on in a public
March 11. assembly, he obtained it to be left to him to appoint whom he should think fit to compose that Other House[2]. He told them also, that the provision made for his expence, and

[1] On March 25, the House voted the following clause: 'That your Highness will be pleased to assume the name, style, title, dignity and office of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the respective dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and to exercise the same according to the laws of these nations.' This was passed by 123 to 62 votes, the tellers for the majority being Sir John Reynolds and Lord Howard, for the minority Major-Gen. Boteler and Col. Salmon. C. J. vii. 511.

[2] This was voted on March 11, 1657, but without the intervention by the Protector himself which Ludlow describes. Burton, i. 386. Ludlow's account of Cromwell's speech seems to be a confused summary of several later speeches.

for maintaining the army and fleet, was not sufficient, and 1657
thereby procured a great sum of money to be added to that which at first they designed. Yet for all this he scrupled to take upon him the title of King, as a thing scandalous and of great hazard; tho at the same time he vilified the former Instrument of Government to the last degree; and after having so highly magnified it when it was established, he compared it now to a rotten plank, on which if a man set his foot it will break and leave him. The Assembly well understanding that the cause of his delays was either to be importuned to the thing, or to get time to perswade the army to be of the same opinion with himself, appointed a committee of their own members to give him their reasons April 9.
for accepting this title[1]. Amongst others the Lord Broghil much pressed that passage brought by the apostle in the dispute concerning the abolition of the Jewish worship by the new and living way revealed in Jesus Christ, illustrated by the wife that was put away, who might yet be retaken by her former husband, if she was not married to another; applying this similitude to the present occasion, as if there was no other way to keep out Charles Stewart, but by filling his place with another King. Mr. Lenthall's argument was very parliamentary and rational, had it been rightly applied; for he pressed him to accept of it, because it was proposed to him by the Parliament, as he was pleased to call it, whom he said he ought not to deny. But he was now arrived to that height of vanity, that tho the design of this argument was only to perswade him to accept that which he desired above all things in the world; yet conceiving it below his grandeur to acknowledg such a prerogative in the Parliament alone, he expressed his dislike of it. And tho he owned that the reasons they had offered had much weight in them, and that he was convinced there was no evil in the thing, yet he could not think it expedient to accept their offer, because he found that many of the

[1] The Committee debated the question of Kingship with Cromwell on April 11 and 16. Their speeches are reprinted in the Old Parliamentary History, xxi. 66–121 (Lenthall's speech, p. 73; Broghil's, p. 86).

1657 good people of the nation were dissatisfied with it. With this answer he dismissed them for the present, and appointed them to attend him again. In the mean time he endeavoured by all possible means to prevail with the officers of the army to approve his design, and knowing that Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Col. Desborough were particularly averse to it, he invited himself to dine personally with the Colonel, and carried the Lieutenant-General with him, where he began to droll with them about monarchy, and speaking slightly of it, said it was but a feather in a man's cap[1], and therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as Col. Desborough since told me, such an answer as was not at all sutable to his expectations or desires. For they assured him, that there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stewart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends. Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them, they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the House, to require their attendance in the Painted Chamber the next morning, designing, as all men believed, there to declare his acceptation of the crown. But in the mean time meeting with Col. Desborough in the great walk of the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the Colonel made answer, that he then gave the cause and Cromwel's family also for lost; adding, that tho he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time. So after

[1] Cromwell first used this phrase in his speech to the hundred officers, Feb. 27, 1657. 'For his part,' he told them, 'he loved this title, a feather in a hat, as little as they did' (Burton's Diary, i. 383). The phrase at once attracted attention. Henry Cromwell repeats it in a letter to Thurloe, April 8, 1657, styling the title 'a gawdy feather in the hat of authority' (Thurloe, vi. 183). Titus informed Hyde on April 10 that Cromwell would refuse the crown, adding: 'They say that speaking of the title of King, he said he was now an old man and cared not for wearing a feather in his cap.' Clarendon State Papers, iii. 336. Letter 200 in Carlyle's Cromwell, where the phrase is also found, is spurious.

some other discourse upon the same subject, Desborough went home, and there found Col. Pride, whom Cromwel had knighted with a faggot-stick[1]; and having imparted to him the design of Cromwel to accept the crown, Pride answered, 'he shall not.' 'Why,' said the Colonel, 'how wilt thou hinder it?' To which Pride replied, 'Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it.' Whereupon they both went to Dr. Owen, and having acquainted him with what had hapned, they perswaded him to draw a petition according to their desires. Whilst this was doing, Cromwel having reflected on his discourse with Col. Desborough, and being informed that Lambert and divers other officers were dissatisfied with his design, sent a message to put off the meeting in the Painted Chamber, and to desire that the House would send a committee to confer with him about the great business that was then depending; intending thereby to gain time in which he might be fitting the officers for his design. But the House being risen before his message arrived, and so out of a capacity to appoint any to come to him, the old committee that had been formerly appointed to that end, thought fit by virtue of their general instructions to wait on him to know his pleasure. Accordingly they came to Whitehall, where they attended about two hours, and then a Barbary-horse being brought into the garden for him to see, gave him an occasion to pass through the room where the committee was attending. As he was passing by without taking the least notice of them, one of the messengers put him in mind that they had attended very long; which he slightly excusing, told them, that he thought the House being risen before his message came to them, had not impowered any persons to come to him. It was answered, that they came to him upon the general instructions which they had formerly received from the House: upon which he told them, he would send to them some other time[2]. The next morning the House being in

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May 8.

[1] Thomas Pride, knighted by Cromwell Jan. 17, 1656; died Oct. 23, 1658.

[2] This is confirmed by Thurloe's letters to H. Cromwell, vi. 281, 291, 310: 'His Highness was pleased

1657 great expectation of a message to appoint the time and place for the acceptance of what they had prepared, some officers of the army coming to the Parliament doors, sent in a message to Col. Desborough, to acquaint him, that they had a petition which they desired him to present to the House. But he knowing the contents of it, and conceiving it unfit for him to take publick notice of it before it was presented, acquainted the House that certain officers of the army had a petition to present to them. Which having done, and every one supposing that the desires of the

upon the Wednesday and Thursday before, to declare to severall of the house, that he was resolved to accept it with that title ; but just in the very nicke of time he took other resolutions, the three great men (Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough) professinge their great unfreenes to act, and sayd that imediately after his acceptance thereof they must withdraw from all publique imployment, and soe they beleeved would severall other officers of quality, that had beene engaged all alonge in this warre. Besides, the very morneinge the house expected H. H. would have come to have given his consent to the bill, some 26 or 27 officers came with a petition to the Parliament, to desire them not to presse H. H. any further about Kingship. The petition was brought to the barr by Lieut.-Col. Mason, who was the cheife man, who promoted it, and went up and down from man to man to get hands thereunto. The petition was not read, but layed by ; and some moved that the house would take into their consideration as a breach of privilege ; but that was neither thought fit to be hearkened unto.' Thurloe, vi. 281. The petition was printed, but does not seem to be in existence now ; great care was taken to suppress it ; ib. 291, 310. For other petitions against Kingship see ib. p. 229. Major Anthony Morgan, in a letter to Henry Cromwell on May 12, adds some details on the presentation of the petition : ''Tis said his Highness knew nothing of the petition, but when he heard of it was extream angry, cald it a high breach of priviledge, and the greatest injury they could have offered him next cutting his throat, and indeed comming in as it did it makes people abroad say he is afraid of his army. This day the report of his Highness's denyall was made to the House. Mr. Bodurda moved the house would vindicate their priviledge in respect of the above petition. Mr. Goodwin said that wee were concerned to take notice of evill councellors who advised his Highness without doores not to hearken to the advice of his Parliament, said it was the quarrell in the beginning with the late King. These things were passed over and the debate about his Highness's answer adjourned till tomorrow morning. Upon a division of the house one halfe being in the lobby Sir Tho. Pride exprest much anger against Mr. Goodwin, and said he should be called to the barr. HarryOwen replied, "'Twere fitter to call you to the barr for killing the beares," for which he was applauded by the crowd about him.' Lansdowne MSS. 822, f. 277.

officers were conformable to their own, Cromwel's party concluding that no part of the army durst appear for the crossing his design, it was generally agreed that they should be called in, and have leave to present it with their own hands. Lieutenant-Colonel Mason was chosen by the rest of the officers to deliver the petition, which when he had done, and the officers withdrawn, it was read. The contents of it were to this purpose; 'That they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready so to do, in defence of the liberties of the nation: that having observed in some men great endeavours to bring the nation again under their old servitude, by pressing their General to take upon him the title and government of a King, in order to destroy him, and weaken the hands of those who were faithful to the publick; they therefore humbly desired that they would discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue stedfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which they for their parts were most ready to lay down their lives.' This petition was subscribed by two colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, and sixteen captains, who with such officers in the House as were of the same opinion, made up the majority of those relating to that part of the army which was then quartered about the town. It's difficult to determine whether the House or Cromwel was more surprised at this unexpected address; but certainly both were infinitely disturbed at it. As soon as the notice of it was brought to Cromwel, he sent for Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and told him, that he wondred he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hindred, since he knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the army; and therefore desired him to hasten to the House, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein. The Lieutenant-General immediately went thither, and told them that the petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answered at this time, the contents of it being to desire them not to press the Protector to be King, whereas the present business was to receive his answer to what had been

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1657 formerly offered to him, and therefore desired that the debate of it might be put off, till they had received his answer. To this the House having consented, they received a message from Cromwel, that instead of meeting him in the Painted Chamber, which was the place where he used to give his consent, they would meet him in the Banqueting House: so May 8. the members came to Whitehal, and Cromwel with great ostentation of his self-denial refused the title of King.

The grand design of the usurper having miscarried, the people were full of expectation to see what form of government the men of the sword would erect next. For as Cromwel had used all imaginable art and industry to throw dirt on all that had preceded, and most of all on the Instrument of Government, which he was once so fond of, and yet now alledged that it neither provided for the safety of the governours or governed: so the present Assembly had openly declared against the family of the Stuarts. But the restitution of the Commonwealth being the thing that was principally dreaded by these self-interested men, it was so contrived and carried, that the House shall present their Humble Petition and Advice to him again, with the sole alteration of the word King into that of Protector. This resolution was the more easily obtained, because the Commonwealth's men had been, under various frivolous pretences, denied their places in the Assembly; so that those only, who were for a Protector with an army, or those who were for King Oliver with an army, were the persons that were permitted to dispute within those walls. And now Cromwel having manifested his weakness, as well as his ambition in the late intrigue, was glad to take what he could get, and without any dispute agreed to what was proposed to him by the May 25. Assembly [1]: which being done, the time was appointed for vesting him with the authority which was to be conferred upon him, and Westminster-Hall was the place where the June 26. solemnity was performed [2]. The aldermen of London and

[1] Cf. Thurloe, vi. 309-311, 330.

[2] Mercurius Politicus, June 25-July 2, p. 7881.

the judges, rather moved by fear than affection, were 1657
prevailed to be present; and Sir Thomas Widdrington, who was Speaker of the Assembly, was ordered to administer an oath to him, and to present him with a sword, a scepter, and a Bible. The pretended Protector was clothed with a purple robe lined with ermins, the train of which was held by the son of the Lord Roberts. Of all the nobility the Earl of Warwick was the only person that accompanied him; and because he would still retain a form of godliness, he appointed Mr. Lockyer to preach before him at his return to Whitehall. The next day after this solemnity, a feast was prepared for the Assembly and officers of the army, at which it was observed Major-General Lambert was not present, whereby it was suspected that he was declining in favour for obstructing Cromwel's design of being King: for as I have been informed by a person deserving credit, the Major-General did take the liberty, when that question was on foot, to tell Cromwel, that if he accepted the crown, he could not assure the army to him.

By the Humble Petition and Advice, for so was this new instrument called, among other things it was provided, that an oath should be taken by those of the Assembly and council, not to do any thing against the present government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the law of the land. This oath Major-General Lambert refused, whereupon Cromwel sent for him, and told him that he was well assured his refusal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for he might remember that he himself did at the first press him to accept the title of King: and therefore if he was now dissatisfied with the present posture of affairs, he desired him to surrender his commission. To this the Major-General answered, that having no suspicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleased to send for it, he should deliver it, which two or three days after was done[1]; and so his pay as Colonel of a regiment July 13.

[1] Lambert had opposed throughout. 'I do verily believe,' writes Thurloe, on Feb. 24, 1656, 'Lambert will if it can be done put

1657 of horse, as colonel of a regiment of foot, and as major-general of the army, was struck off, together with ten pounds by day, which was the general's pay, and which Cromwel allowed him, to keep him firm to his interest. But Cromwel did not think it safe to disgust him intirely, and therefore thought it expedient to allow him a pension of two thousand pounds a year, to keep him from any desperate undertaking.

Sir Henry Vane being still a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, an order was sent thither from the council to bring him from thence, and to permit him to enjoy his liberty, which was done, and he arrived at London in a short time after, where he met with another kind of persecution: for Cromwel perceiving that the former method had proved unsuccessful, privately incouraged some of the army to take possession of certain forest walks belonging to Sir Henry Vane near the castle of Raby, and also gave order to the attorney general, on pretence of a flaw in his title to a great part of his estate, to present a bill against him in the exchequer. This was designed to oblige him to expose his title, which if they could get done, they doubted not, by the craft of the lawyers, to find some defect in it, whereby it was hoped he would be forced into a compliance; yet at the same time he was privately informed that he should be freed from this, or any other inquisition, and that he should have whatsoever else he would desire, in case he would comply with the present authority[1].

The Assembly having provided supplies for the army, and referred other things to the conduct of Cromwel,

the army in a distemper.' After the acceptance of the Petition and Advice by Cromwell he absented himself for a time from the Council, and it was believed he would resign his commission. A few days later he offered to take the oath, but the Protector distrusted him, and finally sent to him to surrender his commission. Thurloe, vi. 74, 412, 425, 427. Cromwell's letter ordering him to surrender it is printed in 3rd Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 247. Lambert had opposed the oath when it was first proposed in Parliament. Burton, ii. 276, 295.

[1] Vane was released by order of Dec. 11, 1656. An answer to Ludlow's account of Cromwell's dealing with Vane about the lands mentioned is given in 'Regicides no Saints,' 8vo, 1700, pp. 99–101.

adjourned themselves for some months, during which time Cromwel endeavoured to make up a collection of men of all interests to fill that which was called the Other House. The principal part of them were such as had procured their present possessions by their wits, and were resolved to enlarge them by selling their consciences for the purchase of his favour. With these were joined some of the antient nobility, together with some of the gentry, who had considerable estates derived to them from their ancestors; such were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Alexander Popham, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Thomas Honywood, Mr. Edmund Thomas, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and others[1]. He sent also a summons, in the form of the antient writ directed by the kings of England to such as they called to the Lords' House, to Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had always appeared a zealous assertor of the publick liberty. Sir Arthur having received the summons from the messenger, who brought it to him into the country, dismissed him, without declaring his resolutions concerning it. Mr. William Lenthal, who had been Speaker of the Parliament, was very much disturbed that a writ was not sent to him to enable him to sit in the Other House. He complained, that he who had been for some years the first man of the nation, was now denied to be a member of either House of Parliament; for he was uncapable of sitting in the House of Commons by his place as Master of the Rolls, whereby he was obliged to sit as assistant in the Other House. This grievous complaint coming to the ears of Cromwel, he sent him a writ, which so elevated the poor man, that riding in his coach through the Strand, and seeing Mr. Lambert Osbalston, formerly master of the school at Westminster, whom he knew to be a great lover of Sir Arthur Haslerig, he asked him what Sir Arthur designed to do in answer to the writ which he had received? and Mr. Osbalston answering that he knew not what the intentions of Sir Arthur Haslerig

1657 June 26.

[1] A list of Cromwell's Lords is given in the Old Parliamentary History, xxi. 167. Biographies of them are appended to Noble's House of Cromwell, vol. i. See also Thurloe, vi. 609, 630, 668.

1657 were concerning it; he replied, 'I pray write to him, and desire him by no means to omit taking his place in that House, and assure him from me that all that do so, shall themselves and their heirs be for ever peers of England.'

1658 Jan. 20. The time for the meeting of these venerable Assemblies being come, none of the antient nobility, except the Lord Eure, adventured to come into the Other House[1]. The Earl of Warwick himself, tho he ventured to marry his grandson to one of Cromwel's daughters, would not be perswaded to sit with Col. Hewson and Col. Pride, whereof the one had been a shoomaker, and the other a drayman; and had they driven no worse trade, I know not why any good man should refuse to act with them. Divers of the gentry did not appear, yet others, and particularly such as were related to those in power, were prevailed with to be of this Assembly.

The door of the House of Commons, for so they would have it called, was now opened, and the guard removed, and every member admitted that took the oath prescribed by them before their adjournment. Most of the members, who had been formerly excluded, took the oath also, and were admitted to sit in the House, where the addition of these last, together with the removal of those of the Other House, who were for the most part taken out of this, made a considerable alteration in that body. Great expectations were raised to see what course Sir Arthur Haslerig would take, who being chosen by the people to sit in one Assembly, and by Cromwel to sit in another, had not yet declared his intentions in that matter. He came to London as privately as he could, but the court having notice of his arrival, sent Col. Howard to his lodgings the next morning, to feel his pulse; which he, suspecting something of that nature, avoided by going early abroad; and coming to the door of the House of Commons, procured some of his friends to give him the

[1] George Lord Eure, d. 1672. A life of him is given in Noble's account of Cromwell's Lords appended to his House of Cromwell, i. 381.

oath[1]; then he took his place in the House without any dispute, as did also Mr. Scot, with divers others who had been formerly excluded by Cromwel and his Council. There they began to call in question all that had been done in the former sessions, grounding their arguments on the force that was upon that Assembly, whereby a great number of those who had as good a right to sit there as any others, were peremptorily refused to sit. Eight or ten days were spent in these debates; and in the mean time some petitions were carrying on, and subscribed by many thousands, to be presented to those who sate in the place where the Parliament of England ought to be. Cromwel was not a little startled at these proceedings, suspecting that part of the army, especially those that were quartered about St. James's, were engaged therein; therefore to prevent that which he feared, and which his conscience told him he had deserv'd, he took the inspection of the watch at Whitehal for several nights successively in his own person. And the alarm from abroad increasing daily, he resolved upon the dissolution of this Assembly, intending as soon as they were dismissed, and the power devolved upon him again, to curb that spirit of liberty that had lately appeared, and to remove such officers from their commands in the army, whom he suspected to have had any hand in their late counsels. Whilst he was deliberating about the best means of effecting this design, fresh information was brought him concerning the diligence of his adversaries in all parts; which quickened him to that degree, that he would not stay for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the Other House. Whither being come, he imparted his intentions to dissolve that Assembly to Lieut.-General Fleetwood; who earnestly endeavouring to disswade him from it, he clapped his hand upon his breast, and swore by the living God he would do it. Then he sent for the Judges, and they being come, dispatched another message

1658 Jan. 25.

[1] See Burton's Diary, ii. 346; Thurloe, vi. 757.

1658 to the Assembly to attend him presently. Many of them declined to come, and those that appeared were very ill treated by him for obstructing that work, which he said was so well begun, in order to the settlement of the nation. On the other hand, he assured those whom he had called to his Other House, that notwithstanding all the practices that had been used against them, they should continue to be Lords, and so dismissed both the Assemblies to follow
Feb. 4 their own private affairs [1].

Cromwel having thus resumed the power into his own hands, made use of it to remove from the army such as he suspected to have obstructed his design; and beginning
Feb. 11. with his own regiment of horse, he sent for Col. Packer, who was the major, and Capt. Gladman, who commanded his own troop, with the rest of the captains of that regiment to attend him: whither being come, he demanded of them if they were willing to promise fidelity to the present Government, and to fight against those that should oppose it. They answered they were ready to fight against Charles Stuart, and that interest; but they could not engage against they knew not whom, and for they knew not what. But he provoked with this answer, dismissed them from their commands, and placed men that would obey without reserve in their room [2]. By this and other means he lost

[1] See the letters relative to the dissolution of this Parliament printed in the English Historical Review, June, 1892. Ludlow probably derives some of the details of his account from 'A Second Narrative of the late Parliament . . . by a friend to the good old cause,' 1658. Harleian Miscellany, ed. Park, iii. 472.

[2] Packer said himself in a speech to Richard Cromwell's Parliament that he was turned out for refusing to own Cromwell's House of Lords established by the Petition and Advice. 'I thought it was not a Lords' House, but another House. But for my undertaking to judge this I was sent for, accused of perjury, and outed of a place of £600 per annum. I would not give it up. He (Cromwell) told me I was not apt: I that had served him fourteen years ever since he was captain of a troop of horse, till he came to this power: and had commanded a regiment seven years: without any trial or appeal with the breath of his nostrils I was outed; and lost not only my place, but a dear friend to boot. Five captains under my command, all of integrity, courage and valour, were outed with me because they could not comply; they could not say that was a House of Lords.'

the affections of great numbers of men, that would have been useful and faithful to him against the family of the late King. And it being well known that he could not subsist at all without at least a Mock-Parliament, Mr. Henry Nevil, a hearty assertor of the Commonwealth interest, having been much injured by the Sheriff of Barkshire in the last return for that county, commenced a suit against the said sheriff, in order to deter others from the like foul practices for the future: but not being willing so far to acknowledg the present authority, as to prefer his action upon the instrument of government, he was advised by Serjeant Maynard, Mr. Allen of Grays-Inn, and some others, to bring his action of the case against the sheriff. On the day of trial Mr. Nevil desired Sir Arthur Haslerig. Sir James Harrington, Mr. Scot, my self, and some other members of the Long Parliament, to be present in the court; where after all the objections made by the sheriff's counsel against the declaration it self, and against the damages pretended by him for not being returned, were overruled by the court, they proceeded to hear the witnesses on both sides; which being done, the Chief Justice St. Johns declared to the jury how heinous a crime it was for a sheriff who being but a servant to the country, should presume to impose upon them such members as he pleased to serve in Parliament, which was the bulwark of the people's liberties; adding farther, that if such practices should be allowed, the people would be out of hope to be relieved from their grievances. Then the jury retired, and having considered the depositions of the witnesses, and also what was said to them by the Chief Justice, they returned into court, and found the sheriff guilty of the charge, and adjudged him to pay 1500*l.* for damages to Mr. Nevil, 1658 1656 Aug. 20.

Burton's Diary, iii. 165. This was that Packer for dismissing whom Cromwell had once rebuked Major-General Crawford. Carlyle, Letter 20. The captains cashiered at the same time were Gladman, Malins, Barrington, Spinage, and Capt.-Lieut. Hunter. Major Butler succeeded to the command of the regiment. Thurloe, vi. 789, 793, 806, vii. 38. Butler was one of the most unpopular of the Protector's Major-Generals. See Burton's Diary, iv. 403; C. J. vii. 366, 704.

1656 and one hundred pounds to the Commonwealth[1]. This verdict was very grateful to those who wished well to the publick, not only on the account of Mr. Nevil, who had entred into this contest to vindicate his country from oppression; but because it was hoped it would prove a means to deter other sheriffs from doing the like for the future. But now the Chief Justice having, as he thought, sufficiently pleased the popular interest by what he had said concerning the rights of the people, began to contrive means to gratify his master Cromwel, by whose order the sheriff had acted; and to this end upon the motion of the sheriff's counsel, granted an arrest of judgment, and appointed a day in the next term to hear what could be said on each side. In the mean time the sheriff, and those who had promised to support him, applied themselves to Cromwel to interpose his authority in this matter, charging Mr. Nevil with many false and malicious aspersions, whilst the sheriff improving the opportunity, conveyed away his real and personal estate. Endeavours were likewise used to take off Mr. Nevil, by compounding the business; but he preferring the advantage of the Commonwealth before his private interest, refused to hearken to any overtures, till the judgment was recorded for an example to posterity, and then declared himself resolved to deal with the sheriff as became him.

1658 The state of affairs in Ireland was little different from that of England, and the army there as much disaffected to Cromwel's design of being king, as those of that profession at home; so that Col. Henry Cromwel who had before courted the Sectarian party, and shewed much respect to Col. Zanchy, now began to caress Major Markham, Mr. Winter, and others of the Presbyterian interest, desiring them to join in an address to his father to stand by and defend him against his enemies[2]. To which they answered,

[1] The sheriff was William Stroud of Ruscomb, Berks. See C. J. vii. 598; Burton's Diary, iii. 51.

[2] On Nov. 16, 1657, Henry Cromwell was appointed Lord Deputy, and instructions to the Deputy and council are dated the same day, the councillors being William Steele, Chancellor; Richard Pepys, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench; Miles

that if they knew who they were, they could be positive in their answer; but being altogether ignorant of the things they were required to engage for, and of the persons they were to engage against, they could by no means consent to his proposal. In the mean time Cromwel was not unmindful of securing the fleet to his interest; and therefore suspecting that General Blake was dissatisfied with his proceedings, joined Col. Montague who was intirely his creature, and Col. Desborough in commission with him; the latter only bearing the name, and managing with other commissioners the maritime affairs at home. It was easily perceived that Montague was sent to sea with Blake to gain experience in those affairs, and to endeavour to get an interest in the seamen, that the credit of Blake might be the better balanced, or his person totally laid aside: but it pleased God that this work was in a short time done to their hands, General Blake falling sick a little after of a distemper, whereby he died. The loss of this great man was lamented by Cromwel much in the same manner as that of the Lord Deputy Ireton, and that also of General Deane had been [1]. 1658 1657 Aug. 7.

Cromwel having been disappointed, as I formerly mentioned, in his endeavours of procuring a civil authority to countenance his arbitrary power, made it his business so to balance all interests, that they should not dare to oppose him, for fear of bringing themselves into a worse condition than that wherein they were. To this end he gratified such

Corbet, Chief Baron; Matthew Thomlinson and William Bury, Esq. On Nov. 6, 1658, Henry Cromwell was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for three years. Fourteenth Report of the Keeper of Irish Records, p. 28. The address referred to is printed in Mercurius Politicus, June 17-24, 1658; cf. Thurloe, vii. 215.

[1] On Dec. 3, 1653, the 'Little Parliament' appointed four generals at sea, and a new committee for the management of the navy. The two generals at sea previously commissioned were Blake and Monck, to whom Desborough and Penn were now added. Cromwell appointed new commissioners on Nov. 8, 1655, and Montague was nominated General at Sea (in place of Penn) on Jan. 2, 1656. Blake died on Aug. 7, 1657, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on Sept. 4. On his funeral see Cal. S. P., Dom. 1657-8, preface, p. 50. A contemporary poem on his life and actions is reprinted in Poems on Affairs of State, ii. 274, ed. 1703.

1657 of the Presbyterian party as were the most complying, and courted divers of the nobility, particularly the Earl of Warwick, whose grandson was admitted to be a suitor to his youngest daughter. But because that this alliance was not at all grateful to some persons about him, he contrived to appear averse to the match; and then by the management of Sir Edward Sydenham it was brought about that
Nov. 11. the young couple were married without the knowledg of their parents: for which contrivance Sir Edward was for a time forbidden the court [1].

Notwithstanding these and many other artifices used by him to support his usurpation, continual designs were set on foot against him. Some Fifth-Monarchy-men, to the number of about three hundred, expecting extraordinary assistance from heaven, had formed a design to dethrone him; but these he slighted on account of the smallness of their number and having some spies amongst them, who gave him intelligence of all their measures, he suffered them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to
April 9. rendezvouz. At which time he sent a guard of souldiers, who seized the principal of them as they were consulting about the manner of putting their enterprize in execution. Their declarations were also taken with them, and their standard which had in it a lion couchant with these words, 'Who shall rouse him up?' [2] These men being for the most

[1] Ludlow's story can scarcely be correct. The match was publicly negotiated and publicly celebrated. Thurloe, vi. 477, 573. Mercurius Politicus, Nov. 5–12, says. 'This day the most illustrious lady, the Lady Frances Cromwell, yongest daughter of his Highness the Lord Protector, was married to the most noble gentleman, Mr. Robert Rich, son of the Lord Rich, grandchild of the Earl of Warwick and of the Countess Dowager of Devonshire, in the presence of their Highnesses, of his grandfather and father, and the said Countess, with many other persons of high honor and quality.' The bans of marriage were three times published in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields. Waters, Parish Registers, 1887, p. 16.

[2] A plot of the Fifth-Monarchy men in which Venner played a leading part was discovered in April, 1657. Thurloe, vi. 163, 184, 194, 202, 291, 349; C. J., vii. 521; Mercurius Politicus, p. 7726. Another plot was detected in Feb. 1658, and followed by numerous arrests. Ludlow mixes up the two, and puts the incidents of the first plot a year too late.

part tradesmen, were carried prisoners to the Gate-house, 1658
where they lay long in a miserable condition. Soon after April 1.
this some persons that used to meet in Coleman Street, to deplore the apostacy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were seized by the Lord Mayor's officers, pursuant to Cromwel's orders, as they were coming out from their meeting-place. Amongst these was a cornet whose name was Day, and who being charged with saying that Cromwel was a rogue and a traitor, confessed the words: and to justify himself said, that Cromwel had affirmed in the presence of himself and divers other officers, that if he did oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away tithes by a certain time, now past, they should then have liberty to say he was a rogue and a traitor: he moved therefore that he might be permitted to produce his witnesses, who were then present, to the particulars before-mentioned[1]. But the matter was April 2.
so ordered, that he and some others were fined and imprisoned for their pretended misdemeanours. Another plot much more dangerous was about the same time carried on by the Royalists, and discovered to him by his spies. The persons concerned in it he used with more severity, because he accounted them to be of a more formidable party, and therefore referred them to be tried by those persons whom his last Assembly had nominated to be a High Court of Justice. The prisoners were Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Slingsby, and Mr. Mordaunt, with some others of the meaner sort. The general charge against them was for endeavouring to levy war against the Government on the behalf of

[1] On the arrest of Day and his friends see 'A narrative, wherein is faithfully set forth the sufferings of John Canne, Wentworth Day, &c., published by a friend to the prisoners and the good old cause they suffered for,' 4to. 1658. When Day was brought before the Lord Mayor and asked what he thought of the present Government, he answered that Cromwell was a juggler by his own confession, and that he could prove it, and bring substantial witnesses to prove it. For this seditious language he was indicted, fined £500, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. Cf. Thurloe, vii. 5, 18, 58. He had been arrested previously in 1656, and imprisoned for over a year for a similar offence. Ib. iv. 321, 343; Cal. S. P., Dom. 1656–57, pp. 42, 116.

1658 Charles Stuart. The particular charge against Dr. Hewet was for dispersing commissions from the son of the late King, and perswading divers to raise forces by virtue of the same. That against Sir Henry Slingsby was for attempting to debauch some of the garison of Hull to the service of Charles Stuart, and delivering a commission from him to them. The prisoners of less note were charged with a design of firing the city in several places, at the time appointed for their party to be in arms. Dr. Hewet being brought before the Court, moved that he might be tried by a jury, and demurred to the jurisdiction of the Court. But the Court over-ruled his demurrer, and told him, that unless he would plead to his charge, they would cause his refusal to be entred, and proceed against him as if the fact were confessed. This being twice said to him, he was required the third time to plead: to which he answered, that if the Judges would declare it to be according to law for him to plead, he would obey: but he was told that the gentlemen then present were his Judges, and that if he would not plead they would register his contempt the third time, and upon his refusal did so. Mr. Mordaunt admonished by his example, pleaded not guilty; and after a full hearing of the witnesses on both sides, the Court acquitted him by one voice. Then Sir Henry Slingsby was called to the bar, and the witnesses on each side being heard, he was pronounced guilty, tho in the opinion of many men he had very hard measure. For it appeared that he was a prisoner at the time when he was charged to have practised against the Government; that he was a declared enemy, and therefore by the laws of war free to make any such attempt; besides it was alledged that the persons, whom he was accused to have endeavoured to corrupt, had trapan'd him by their promises to serve the king in delivering Hull, if he would give them a commission to act for him, which commission was an old one that had long lain by him. But all this being not thought sufficient to excuse him, he was adjudged to die. The rest of the prisoners were
June 8. also condemned, and sentence of death being pronounced,

Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet had the favour of being beheaded; and the others, being men of a lesser figure, were hanged[1]. Cromwel's daughter and favourite Mrs. Cleypole, laboured earnestly with her father to save the life of Dr. Hewet, but without success: which denial so afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cause of her death, which happened soon after with the concurrence of an ulcer in her womb. 1658 Aug. 6.

The usurper, as he was thus prodigal of English blood, so was he no less profuse of the publick treasure, in procuring intelligence from the royal party abroad. To which end he employed one Henry Manning, son to one Col. Richard Manning, a papist, and formerly a colonel in the late King's army, where he lost his life. This gentleman he furnished with a considerable sum of money, and sent him to the place where the son of the late King then resided[2]: where when he arrived, he informed the exiles, that he was sent thither from some friends in England that desired to have their names concealed. But having with him such good credentials as ready money, part whereof he gave to Charles Stuart, and distributing several lesser sums to his necessitous followers, he was easily admitted amongst them. It hapned at that time, that a gentleman who had served the late King, desired leave from Cromwel to travel, which he obtained on condition he should not see the King, which he promised. Accordingly when he arrived at Colen, if I mistake not that was the place, he sent a message to the King, that he might be permitted to wait on him at night, which was granted; and having discoursed fully concerning the affairs he came about, he took leave, and received a letter which he sewed within the crown of his hat. Upon his return to England he came with confidence to 1655

[1] Col. Edward Ashton, John Bettley, John Sumner, Edmund Stacey and Oliver Allen were also executed, the first two on July 7, the three latter on July 9.

[2] Manning began giving information to Thurloe in March, 1655. He was found out in December, 1655, and summarily shot by order of Charles II. Thurloe, iv. 269, 290, 293, 718. His examinations, taken when he was seized, are amongst the Nicholas papers.

1655 Cromwel, and being demanded by him if he had punctually performed his promise? he answered, that he had. But, said Cromwel, who was it that put out the candles when you spoke to Charles Stuart?[1] This unexpected question somewhat startled him; but Cromwel proceeding, asked him, what he said to him? to which the gentleman answered that he said nothing at all to him. Then said Cromwel, did he not send a letter by you? The gentleman denying that also, Cromwel took his hat, and having found the letter, he sent him immediately to the tower. From thence he took the first favourable occasion to acquaint Charles Stuart with all that had happened to him relating to this affair, assuring him, that one of the three persons who were in the room with him at the time above-mentioned, must necessarily have betrayed him. Upon this information Manning's study was searched, and his correspondence being discovered, leave was obtained from the Duke of Neuburg to execute him within his territories, and accordingly he was shot to death[2]. But tho Manning's action was base and perfidious, as proceeding from a domestick servant, yet by what law he was executed I confess my self utterly ignorant.

After the death of Mrs. Cleypole it was observed that Cromwel grew melancholy, and also distempered with divers infirmities, particularly a malignant humour in his

[1] In a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas, Lord Hatton tells a story very much resembling this. In 1654, Mr. Henry Seymour, after secretly visiting Charles II, returned to England and boldly sought an interview with Cromwell. 'Cromwell asked him what he had done in France, whether he had seen his master, and wondered he could think to elude by the idle pretexts he gave him for his journey and return. Seymour denied the sight of his master; Cromwell told him when and where he saw him, and in what rooms, and some things that were said, as Seymour doth acknowledge. He persists yet in denial, whereupon Cromwell raised his threats so high that Seymour fell as low as his feet, and there lay begging for his life in much distraction.' Nicholas Papers, ii. 100. This incident took place before Manning entered the service of Cromwell.

[2] Manning was arrested Dec. 5 (n. s.), 1655. He was 'pistolled in a wood near Cologne by Sir James Hamilton and Major Armourer' a few days later. Thurloe, iv. 249, 269, 290, 718; Cal. Clarendon Papers, iii. 77.

foot; which hindring him from the exercises of walking or riding abroad, he obliged his physicians to endeavour to disperse it, which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his heart. By this means he became desperately sick; and as some about him had for a long time deceived others, so they now endeavoured to impose upon God himself. For Dr. Goodwin, his creature and trencher-chaplain, used this expression in his prayer during the time of his sickness; 'Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that Thou hast already granted, and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery.' At this time I was in the county of Essex, and according to a former resolution I had taken, went to London to attend my father Oldsworth, and to bring him into the country, whither he designed to come with my mother Ludlow[1]. On the Monday afternoon I set forward on my journey, the morning proving so tempestuous that the horses were not able to draw against it; so that I could reach no farther than Epping that night. By this means I arrived not at Westminster till Tuesday about noon, when passing by Whitehall, notice was immediately given to Cromwel, that I was come to town. Whereupon he sent for Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and ordered him to enquire concerning the reasons of my coming in such haste, and at such a time. The Lieutenant-General accordingly desired by a message that I would come to him the next morning, which I did, and understood from him that Cromwel suspected I was come with a design to raise some disturbance in the army, and that he was desirous to know the occasion of my journey. I assured him, that as it was not in my power to cause any commotion in the army, so neither was it in my thoughts at this time; and that I came to town in order to bring our family together into the country, according to a resolution taken a month since, and before I heard of Cromwel's indisposition. He then told me, that the Protector had been ill, but that it was now hoped he was recovering. I said, that I wished him so well, that I was not desirous he should die in the way

1658

Aug. 30.

Aug. 31.

[1] A letter from Ludlow's sister shows that his mother was seriously ill about this time. See Appendix I.

1658 he was in at present, and assured him, that I should be glad of the prolongation of his life, if he would employ it to the publick good, which ought to be more dear to us than life it self.

At Whitehall they were unwilling to have it known that he was so dangerously ill; yet by reason of a clause in the Humble Petition and Advice (which was the rule of Government they pretended to act by) that the Protector should have power to nominate his successor, the Commissioners of the Great Seal attended for signing the declaration of the person to be appointed to succeed him[1]. But whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions to leave the succession to his son, lest thereby he should, in case of recovery, disoblidge others, whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was so discomposed in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or lastly, whether he would have named or did name any other, is to me uncertain. But certain it is that the Commissioners
Sept. 3. were not admitted till the Friday following[2], when the symptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, whilst he manifested so little remorse of

[1] Thurloe writes to Richard Cromwell on Aug. 30, 1658, saying that the Protector had not yet declared his successor. 'He did by himself declare one in a paper before he was installed by the Parliament, and sealed it up in the form of a letter, directing it to me, but kept both the name of the person and the paper to himself. After he fell sicke at Hampton Court, he sent Mr. John Barrington to London for it, telling hym it lay upon his study table at Whitehall; but it was not to be found there or elsewhere though it hath been very narrowly looked for. And in this condition matters stand, his highnesse having been too ill to be troubled with a buissnes of this importance. This day he hath had some discourse about it, but his illness disenabled him to conclude it.' Thurloe, vii. 364.

[2] On Sept. 4, Thurloe announced the Protector's death to Henry Cromwell, adding: 'His highness was pleased before his death to declare my lord Richard his successor. He did it upon Munday.' 'The preceding night and not before, in presence of four or five of his councell,' says Fauconberg, 'he declared my lord Richard his successor; the next morning grew speechless, and departed betwixt three and four in the evening.' Thurloe, vii. 373, 375. The continuator of Baker's Chronicle explains this, by describing Cromwell as nominating Richard first on Tuesday, August 31, and then more formally on Thursday, Sept. 2 (p. 652).

conscience for his betraying the publick cause, and sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed above all concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes when dead [1]. In this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon; and the news of his death being brought to those who were met together to pray for him, Mr. Sterry stood up and desired them not to be troubled. 'For,' said he, 'this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions [2].' 1658

Different were the effects that the death of Cromwel produced in the nation: those men who had been sharers with him in the usurped authority were exceedingly troubled,

[1] See 'A collection of several passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell, in the time of his sickness, wherein is related many of his expressions upon his deathbed, together with his prayer two or three days before his death. Written by one that was then groom of his bedchamber' [James Harvey]. 4to. London, 1659. The prayer is reprinted in Cromwelliana, p. 177, and in Carlyle's Cromwell.

[2] 'And together with him that cringing Court-chaplain Peter Sterry, that also bows to whatever is uppermost, speaking higher than all this, as is credibly reported by several godly men that heard him to their astonishment: holding forth his Bible in the chappel of Whitehall, he spake to this purpose: "That if that were the Word of God, then as certainly that blessed holy spirit (meaning the late Protector) was with Christ at the right hand of the Father; and if he be there, what may his family and the people of God now expect from him? for if he were so useful and helpfull, and so much good influenced from him to them when he was here in a mortal state, how much more influence will they have from him now he is in Heaven? The Father, Son, and Spirit through him bestowing gifts and graces, &c. upon them."' And a great deal more to this purpose. 'A second narrative of the late Parliament,' 1658. The text of this pamphlet varies considerably in the several editions of it. The reprint in the Harleian Miscellany omits the long appendices. On the utterances of the Court-chaplains see Robert Baillie's Letters, iii. 425; Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick, p. 388.

1658 whilst all other parties rejoiced at it: each of them hoping that this alteration would prove advantagious to their affairs. The Commonwealthsmen were so charitable to believe that the souldiery being delivered from their servitude to the General, to which they were willing to attribute their former compliances, would now open their eyes and join with them, as the only means left to preserve themselves and the people. Neither were the Cavaliers without great hopes that new divisions might arise, and give them an opportunity of advancing their minion, who had been long endeavouring to unite all the corrupt interests of the nation to his party. But neither the sense of their duty, nor the care of their own safety, nor the just apprehensions of being overcome by their irreconcilable enemy, could prevail with the army to return to their proper station. So that having tasted of sovereignty under the shadow of their late master, they resolved against the restitution of the Parliament. And in order to this it was agreed to proclaim Richard Cromwel, eldest son to Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth, in hopes that he, who by following his pleasures had rendred himself unfit for publick business, would not fail to place the administration of the government in the hands of those who were most
Sept. 4. powerful in the army. Accordingly the proclamation was published in Westminster, at Temple-Bar, and at the Old Exchange, with as few expressions of joy as had ever been observed on the like occasion. This being done, the Council issued out orders to the officers of civil justice to act by virtue of their old commissions till new ones could be sent to them: and that nothing might be omitted to fortify the new government, various means were used to procure addresses from all parts, which were brought in great numbers from the several counties of England, Scotland and Ireland [1], as also from divers regiments of the

[1] A collection of these addresses was made in a pamphlet attributed to Vavasour Powell: 'A true Catalogue or account of the several places and most important persons in the three nations by whom Richard Cromwell was made Lord Protector; as also a collection of the most material passages in the several blasphemous, lying, flattering addresses, being 94

army. One of the first acts of the new government was, to order the funeral of the late usurper; and the Council having resolved that it should be very magnificent, the care of it was referred to a committee of them, who sending for Mr. Kinnersly master of the wardrobe, desired him to find out some precedent, by which they might govern themselves in this important affair [1]. After examination of his books and papers, Mr. Kinnersly, who was suspected to be inclined to popery, recommended to them the solemnities used upon the like occasion for Philip the Second, king of Spain, who had been represented to be in purgatory for about two months. In the like manner was the body of this great reformer laid in Somerset-house: the apartment was hung with black, the day-light was excluded, and no other but that of wax tapers to be seen. This scene of purgatory continued till the first of November, which being the day preceding that commonly called All Souls [2], he was removed into the great hall of the said house, and represented in effigie, standing on a bed of crimson velvet covered with a gown of the like coloured velvet, a scepter in his hand, and a crown on his head. That part of the hall wherein the bed stood was railed in, and the rails and ground within them covered with crimson velvet. Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks were so placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun:

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Sept. 20.

in number, &c.,' 4to, 1659. The Wiltshire address may also be found in Mercurius Politicus, Nov. 8–15, 1658.

[1] I can find no other authority for this statement about Kinnersley. The State Papers contain very little about Cromwell's funeral, or Kinnersley's share in it. Cal. S. P., Dom. 1658-9, pp. 131, 143, 381. Heath and Carrington give long accounts of the funeral, and a passage in the 'Perfect Politician' (ed. 1680, p. 280) suggests that the precedents of James the First's funeral were followed. Cf. Baker's Chronicle, p. 655. Heath in his chronicle states that the funeral cost £60,000. Cromwell's body was embalmed, and on Sept. 20 removed to Somerset House. The public lying in state lasted from Oct. 18 to Nov. 23, on which day the funeral procession to Westminster Abbey took place. A full account is given in the newspapers, and reproduced in Cromwelliana.

[2] The removal of the Protector's body on All Souls' Day is not mentioned in the ordinary accounts, and I have failed to trace Ludlow's authority for it.

1658 by all which he was represented to be now in a state of glory. This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escucheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerset-house. I purposely omit the rest of the pageantry, the great number of persons that attended on the body, the pro-
Nov. 23. cession to Westminster, the vast expence in mourning, the state and magnificence of the monument erected for him, with many other things that I care not to remember.

The necessities of the government daily increasing, it was thought expedient to call a Parliament, as they termed it. Whereupon the Council being summoned, three questions were debated among them.

1st. Whether the elections should be made by the counties, cities, and considerable towns, according to the distribution agreed on by the Long Parliament, and practised by Cromwel in his time; or whether they should be made by the counties, cities, and boroughs, according to the antient law of the land.

The 2d was concerning the thirty members to serve for Ireland, and thirty for Scotland; whether, or how, they should be chosen, there having been as yet no distribution of powers to elect, as it was ordered there should be in the humble Petition and Advice.

The 3d was touching the writs of summons to be issued to those of the Other House.

For the first, the council learned in the art and mystery of the law, advised, that seeing there was a clause in the Petition and Advice, that all should be done according to law, it was the most safe way to issue out the writs of election according to the antient form; and this method after some debate was resolved upon, principally because it was well understood that mean and decayed boroughs might be much more easily corrupted than the numerous counties and considerable cities[1]. The motion for pro-

[1] The nature of the change made is more clearly explained by Bordeaux in a letter to Mazarin: 'The form of the elections has been changed, and instead of the counties assembling as before in a body, in

ceeding according to law prevailed with them also in reference to the writs for members to serve in the Other House, which were accordingly issued out in the same form with those that had been formerly sent to the peers. The second question touching the members for Scotland and Ireland was long debated, the most prudent being of opinion, that since writs were to go out in the antient manner to elect members to serve for England in Parliament, there could be no pretence for those of Scotland and Ireland to sit with them: however the majority concluded that members should be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, as had been practised in the time of Cromwel, with this proviso, that they should not be admitted to sit as such, till the consent of those chosen for England were first obtained. The time of election drawing near, the Court used their utmost endeavours to procure such men to be chosen as were their creatures, and had their dependencies on them, in which they had no small advantages[1]. For besides the power of discountenancing and punishing those that were not their friends, they had all the preferments as well military as civil in their disposition. The officers of the admiralty and navy had a great influence not only upon the Cinque Ports, but also upon all sea-towns whatsoever, and could press at their pleasure any inhabitant to serve at sea, and thereby ruin both them and their families. The sheriffs, who generally were men chosen for such purposes, contributed no little assistance to their design, by disposing

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one place, and appointing all the members, each county is to elect only two and the boroughs and cities will choose the rest.' A county according to the Instrument of Government might choose eight or ten members at once, as in the cases of Hampshire and Wiltshire. Compare the description of a Wiltshire election given in vol. i. pp. 388–547. Practically, to use a modern parallel, the government now abandoned the system of 'scrutin de liste' and returned to 'scrutin d'arrondissement.' Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 274.

[1] The writs were sent out on Dec. 5. A list of the sheriffs is given in Mercurius Politicus for Dec. 1659, pp. 47, 64–85. On the elections in England, see Thurloe, vii. 549, 550, 559, 565, 572, 574, 581, 585–8, 590, 594, 601, 627, 633, 641. On the elections in Scotland, ib. pp. 555, 572–5, 583–4, 597, 601, 613, 616, 636, 638. On the elections in Ireland, ib. pp. 541, 550, 553, 565, 575, 579, 581, 593, 600.

1658 the writs to whom they pleased, and making themselves judges of the fitness and due qualifications of all those who should vote at the several elections.

In the mean time divers persons who continued unshaken in their zeal and affection to the Commonwealth, met at the house of Sir Henry Vane, where they consulted what would be most proper for them to do in case any of them should be elected to serve in the approaching assembly: and after mature deliberation resolved that if they should be fairly chosen, and that no unjust or dishonourable thing were required of them, they should accept the employment, and therein use the best of their endeavours to serve the publick, being perswaded that it is the duty of a good man at all times and in all places, when an opportunity offers it self, to be useful to his country[1]. Neither did they think that their presence and assistance in such an assembly could by any means be interpreted to be an acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, in prejudice of the right of the Long Parliament, which tho under a force, yet was never legally dissolved. In consequence of this resolution Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Weaver, Col. Kendrick, and divers others of known affection to the

[1] 'There was a meeting the other day of several commonwealths-men, to witt, Scott, Weaver, Nevyll, Ludlowe, Cole, Blacke, Birch, etc., where resolutions were taken, how the business should be managed in parliament. The first thinge they intend to move is, that all votes should be past by a ballating box, judgeinge that there will be many Nicodemittes in the house, who would be of their party if they durst. After this is past, they intend to dispute the parts of the Petition and Advice; as first that the house of lords ought to be approved by the house of comons; that all the councell ought to be alsoe. 3dly, that the house ought to be satisfied of the succession, thinking by these steps to bringe in the Commonwealth.' Thurloe to H. Cromwell, Dec. 1659. 'I doe not heare,' writes Thurloe on Jan. 4, 'that Vane and Ludlowe are yet chosen; but there is noe doubt to be made but they will come in, and soe will Lambert, who stands for it in some three places.' The same day Clarges writes: 'Mr. Scot that missed his being chosen at Aylesbury, is elected with collonel Bridge to serve for Wickham. I doe not heare Sir Henry Vane is chosen, but I was told Harrison might have had a choice, and refused, pretending a scruple to take the oath required by all members before they sit. I heare also Mr. Nevill endeavours to be chosen in Cornwall.' (Thurloe, vii. 550, 588, 590.)

Commonwealth, being chosen to serve, sat in the assembly[1]. 1659
President Bradshaw was returned by the sheriff for the county of Chester; but some of that county having returned another person, he was not present at their first meetings, the Assembly having made an order, that in case Feb. 1.
of a double return, neither of the competitors should sit till the matter should be heard and decided. Great endeavours were used by the Court to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane; and tho their officers refused to return him at Hull and Bristol, at both which places it was said he had the majority, yet at last he was chosen and returned for the borough of Whitchurch in the county of Southampton. The people of this place were advised to this choice by Mr. Robert Wallop; at which the Court-faction were so enraged, that they had sent a menacing letter to him, which was subscribed by most justices of the peace for the county, to let him know, that they would oppose his election for the shire, if he persisted to recommend Sir Henry Vane to the choice of the people. But Mr. Wallop despising their threatnings, continued to assist Sir Henry Vane, and was chosen for the county in despite of them.

Those that governed at Whitehall had ordered an oath to be administred to all such as should be admitted to sit in the House, whereby the members were to oblige themselves not to act or contrive any thing against the Protector. This oath I was unwilling to take, and therefore declined going into the Assembly; but being one day walking in Westminster-hall, and meeting Sir Walter St. Johns, who was one of the persons appointed to administer the oath, he asked me why I came not to the House. I told him, that tho I had heard divers arguments for taking the oath, yet my doubts not being

[1] Col. William Kenrick was member for Hythe. For one of his speeches see Burton, iii. 155. Thomas Scot was member for Wycombe; for specimens of his speeches see Burton, iii. 107; ii. 382, 428. Haselrig led off on Feb. 7 with a speech which lasted all the morning and consisted of an historical review of the events of the last thirty years.

1659 fully satisfied by them, I had hitherto abstained. Whereupon he desired me to meet him in the lobby the next morning, promising to carry me in with him, which, said he, will create a belief in the House that I have given you the oath. Accordingly I attended, but not finding Sir Walter there, I went in, and the House being at prayers, I stood amongst the rest of the members till they were ended, and then went up to the Speaker's chamber, where, and in the gallery, I sat with as much privacy as I could. Thus I continued to do for about a week, when news was brought, to the great mortification of the Court, that Sir Henry Vane was chosen to serve in this Assembly for the borough of Whitchurch, as was mentioned before. Sir Henry being come to town, and informed that I sat in the House, he was pleased to make me a visit, and to inquire by what means I had procured admission, for he had been acquainted with my scruples touching the oath. I assured him, that my doubts remained still unsatisfied; but that I had ventured to go into the Assembly, where I sat as yet without any interruption. Within a day or two a member informed me of an intention in some to complain to the House against me for sitting amongst them without the qualification of the oath: to which I answered, that it was no more than I expected. And accordingly one of the
Feb. 5. members called Bodurdo, the same day pressed to be heard touching a matter which, he said, concerned the very being of the House; having been informed that there sat a person amongst them, who had not taken the oath required to be administred to every member before his admission[1]. He therefore moved the House to inquire into it, and to give order that all men that sat there might be upon an equal foot. This motion was opposed by some who alledged that it was of far less importance than many other things that were before them. But Mr. John Trevor, a leading

[1] Burton notes under Feb. 5: 'Mr. Bodurda and Mr. Manley moved that Major-General Ludlow sat, and had not taken the oath.' Scot, Nevill, and Weaver spoke on behalf of Ludlow. Burton's Diary, iii. 68–76. Cf. Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 301.

man of the Court-party, seconded the former motion, tho 1659
with much civility and respect, urging that he could not but think it very seasonable, and of consequence, considering the worth, as he was pleased to say, of the person concerned. So the debate was entred upon, and divers gave their opinions that the oath should be peremptorily required. But Mr. Weaver and some others opposed them, alledging, that for the most part oaths proved only snares to honest men, it being generally observed, that those who were least conscientious in keeping an oath, were the most forward to take it. Col. Eyres also informed the House, that he had sat in the Long Parliament without taking the oath then prescribed, and that he was fully perswaded that my omission therein proceeded not from a spirit of opposition, but from a real scruple of conscience; that his case had formerly been the same with mine; and tho no man could question my affection to that Parliament, yet I had moved the House in his behalf, and was the person nominated by them to bring him into the House without taking the oath. This debate continuing for two or three hours, was at length interrupted by the discovery of a person sitting in the House, who had not been elected so to do: his name was King, and being called to the Bar, the House demanded of him whether he were a member[1]? To which he answered, that he knew not whether he were or no. For meeting with an alderman of London[2], who asked him if he were chosen, he demanded of him the reason of his question: whereupon the alderman saying that he had seen the name of one King upon the list of returns, he came down to the House, and had continued so to do, that he might not be wanting in his duty. This man being ordered to withdraw, many of the members willingly left the debate, and others did so too from their great zeal against him, supposing him to be a dangerous person, because he had been observed that morning in the Speaker's chamber to approve and

[1] William King, a vintner of London.

[2] Sir John Dethick, Lord-Mayor of London in 1656, and then knighted by Cromwell.

1659 promote a paper which was there delivered, tending to shew the wickedness of the designs that were carrying on by the Court-faction, and the necessity incumbent on the Assembly to restore the Commonwealth [1]. So the merits of this person having been debated also, and the House being informed by one of the members serving for the city of London, that the man was distempered in his head to that degree, that his relations were often obliged to bind him hand and foot, they contented themselves to send him to Newgate for a day or two, and then ordered him to be discharged. By this means the Assembly was diverted from resolving to impose the oath ; and tho they were much inclined to get rid of my company, yet partly by finding so great opposition, and partly by discovering that there were some of another interest which they liked better that had not taken it, they were discouraged from resuming that debate for the future, tho they did sometimes mention it by way of reflection, when I moved any thing displeasing to them.

All men were in great expectation what the resolutions of the House would be concerning the government. The sounder part of them were very desirous to secure themselves in the two essential points which had been the ground of the quarrel between the King and the Parliament, viz. the Militia and the Negative Voice, and to establish them in the representative of the people, before they should enter upon any other business. But whilst these important matters were under consideration, Mr. Thurloe a member
Feb. 1. of the Assembly, and secretary to Mr. Richard Cromwel, presented them with a declaration ready drawn, wherein was contained an acknowledgment of the said Richard Cromwel to be Protector, and the Petition and Advice to be the rule of government for these nations [2]. This

[1] He distributed a pamphlet entitled 'Twenty-Five Queries: modestly and humbly, and yet sadly and seriously propounded to the people of England, and their representatives, and likewise to the army in this juncture of affairs. 4to, 1659.' Cf. Burton's Diary, iii. 76-78.

[2] See Burton's Diary, iii. 26, for Thurloe's speech, and Thurloe, vii. 603, for the draft of the bill.

action was by impartial men esteemed to be a great injury to 1659
the Assembly; but he had a sufficient strength amongst them to carry him through whatsoever he thought fit to undertake, and therefore he was not only defended for what he had done, but it was resolved that the declaration should be received and debated. Hereupon it was moved that the instrument might be produced, wherein, according to Feb. 8.
the Petition and Advice, the successor ought to be nominated, and the Great Seal affixed; but they having no such thing to shew, over-ruled that motion. [We] not being able to obtain this, and being extremely desirous to place the militia in the Parliament, and to make void any pretence to a negative voice in a single person, as well as to do some other things for the people's safety and welfare, the Court-party refused to consent to any thing of that nature for the present, craftily insinuating and making large promises, that such things as were necessary should be done hereafter at a more convenient season[1]. In the next place it was desired, that since it appeared the present power had no legal foundation, and that it would be most safe for the Protector to derive his authority from a right source, the words in the declaration of recognizing him might be altered for agnizing him; that so his right might appear to be founded upon the consent of the people represented in this Assembly. But this proposition, tho inforced with many weighty reasons, was rejected as the former had been, tho it was thought convenient to divide the House Feb. 14.
upon it. Upon this success the Court presuming to carry all before them, grew unmeasurably insolent, and all that could be done was only to lengthen out their debates, and to hang on the wheels of the chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this means time was gained to infuse good principles into divers young gentle-

[1] This motion was made by Thomas Chaloner, M.P. for Scarborough. Burton, iii. 128, 263. The word 'undoubted' in Thurloe's bill also raised great opposition; ib. 219, 231, 282. For the debate on the word 'recognise,' see Burton, iii. 274. It was maintained by 191 to 168 votes. C. J. vii. 603.

1659 men, who before had never been in any public assembly, in hopes that tho for the present their previous engagements should carry them against us, yet upon more mature deliberation they might discover where their true interest lay. Neither were our endeavours without success, for having frequently held the House nine or ten days in debate before they could come to a question, many gentlemen who came to Westminster prepossessed in favour of the Court, confessed that the reasons of the Commonwealth-party were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them [1]. And because all parties had confederated against us, we, in order to lessen their numbers, impeached divers of them for having been of the King's party, by which means we procured some of them to be expell'd, and frighted away some others who knew themselves to be
Feb. 12. in the same condition [2]. The Court to requite us brought Mr. Marvin Touchet a Papist, and brother to the Lord of Castlehaven, to accuse Mr. Villars, who had voted with us, of serving in the King's army; and tho it appeared that he was forced so to do by those who had the government of him, he being then but sixteen years of age, and that he came into the Parliament's quarters as soon as he had an opportunity, yet all that could be said proving not sufficient to excuse him, he was likewise voted out from the House. The next thing we endeavoured was to remove
March 11. the Scotish and Irish members, who had intruded themselves into the House, and to have the question put, 'Whether those members chosen by Scotland ought by the.

[1] Ludlow, on Feb. 8, made a speech on the importance of limiting the Protector's control over the militia, and another on Feb. 14, on the words 'recognise' and 'undoubted' in the Declaration acknowledging Richard Cromwell. Burton's Diary, iii. 145, 282. For briefer utterances of Ludlow's during these first debates, see ibid. pp. 68, 195, 231, 237, 247, 249, 345, 434, 548.

[2] On Feb. 12, Edmund Jones, M.P. for Brecon, his Highness's Attorney-General for South Wales, was expelled from the House as a Royalist delinquent. Burton, iii. 233–241. Then Robert Villiers, alias Danvers, M.P. for Westbury, was similarly expelled; ibid. 241–249. Thomas Streete, M.P. for Worcester, was also accused of being a Royalist delinquent. Burton, iii. 71, 253, 425.

law of the land to sit as members of this Parliament[1].' 1659
The reasons used to justify the wording of the question in this manner were: 1. That there was no colour by the antient law of the land for their sitting as members of the Parliament of England, having always been a distinct kingdom from it. 2. That there had been no distribution of powers to elect, as was required by the Humble Petition and Advice. The Court would by no means permit the question to be put in the manner before-mentioned, but moved that it might be thus proposed in the following words, 'Whether the House thought fit that those returned from Scotland should sit as members of this Parliament:' by this means turning a question of right into question of conveniency. However, because our question was first proposed, we insisted that it might also be first put; and likewise moved, that those sent from Scotland and Ireland being the persons concerned in the question, might be ordered to withdraw, and not be permitted to sit judges of their own case: and this we thought we might with more reason demand, because their own party had already waved the legality of their election by the form of words they had used in the question they proposed: but the pretended

[1] The debate on the sitting of the members returned for Scotland began on March 11 and was continued on March 12, 17, 18, 19, 21. Notable speeches on behalf of the Scotch members were made by Clarges, Lockhart, Disbrowe and others. Scot and Weaver had raised objections earlier in the session against the presence of the Irish and Scotch members. Burton, iii. 28, 346. Weaver demanded that they should withdraw or be ordered to do so (ibid. iv. 165). The 'Scotch,' said Ludlow, 'are here by an arbitrary power but by no law... I am not against taking them into union, but not at this time' (ibid. iv. 173). John Swinton, who was one of the Scotch judges and represented the Merse, though withdrawing from the debate for several days, spoke on behalf of the union (ibid. iv. 187). The motion for their withdrawal was lost on March 18, without a count being necessary. On the 21st, by an equally decisive majority, the House decided 'That the members returned to serve for Scotland shall continue to sit as members during this present parliament.' C. J. vii. 616. Haselrig moved the addition of the words 'having no legal right,' but did not press it to a division (Burton, iv. 218). The case of the Irish members was discussed on March 22 and 23, ending in a resolution, passed by 156 to 106, 'that the members returned for Ireland shall continue to sit as members in this parliament.'

1659 members for Scotland and Ireland, except only Mr. Swinton who modestly withdrew, as they had debated their own case with much confidence, so by the support of the Court they
March 18. resolved to decide it in their own favour. When we saw our selves thus overpowered by violence and number, we had the question put for leaving out the words, 'by the law of the land;' which being carried in the affirmative, and therefore to be entred in the journal, we let fall words in the House to insinuate that they were not a legal Parliament, having no countenance from the authority by which they acted: and as to their prudential way of admitting the Scots and Irish on the account of conveniency, we said it would weaken all that should be done by this Assembly, whose actions would be weighed and duly considered by those that should come into power when they were gone: that the laws of this Assembly, tho it were granted that they were a legal Parliament, would not bind the people of Scotland, who are not governed by the common law of England, and therefore that it was unreasonable that those chosen by that nation should have any part in making laws for the people of England; and that it was intolerable, that they who had fought against a Commonwealth should be consulted with in the framing of our constitution, and so vote us out of that with their tongues, which they could never fight us out of with their swords[1].
March 21. But all our arguments were answered by calling for the question, which they carried by a great number of votes,
March 23. as they did also that for admitting those returned for Ireland.

The Court having overcome these difficulties, doubted not to obtain the establishment of their House of Lords, which they called the Other House; and therefore moved for recognizing them also. The Commonwealths-men proposed that the Assembly would first take into their consideration the powers wherewith the Other House should be vested

[1] A good account of the debates of this session, from the republican point of view, is given in Slingsby Bethell's The Most Material Debates in that Pretended Parliament called by Richard Cromwell. 1680.

before they proceeded to the recognition of them, lest our qualifying them with the title of a House, and our approbation of the persons that were to fill it, might be a means to procure them more power than otherwise we should think fit to give them[1]. But the Court-party alledged that the Other House being already constituted, it was no more in the power of the Commons to alter their establishment, than in the power of the new House to make any change in that of the Commons. Then we endeavoured to shew them the unreasonableness of imposing such a House upon the nation, telling them, that in antient times those that came to Parliament sate there by virtue of the lands they possessed, and that he who had twenty fees, each of twenty pounds yearly rent, might demand his place in the House as an earl; and that whosoever was possessed of thirteen fees, whereof one third part was military, had a right to sit in the same House as a baron: that this method continued till the greater barons finding themselves overvoted, withdrew into a distinct House. But King Henry the Third having obtained a victory against the barons, deprived them of their antient usages, and permitted none of them to come to Parliament without a writ of summons from him. We shewed them that the House of Lords antiently consisted of persons, on whom the Commons had their dependance; and being for the most part retainers to them, were clothed in their liveries: but the balance being now altered, and the greatest part of the lands of England devolved upon the Commons, they instead of wearing the Lords' blew coats, did now give wages to most of those who pretended to be members of the Other House. But notwithstanding all that could be said, the confederacy for them was strong enough to carry all before them, the Cavaleerish party, who were very numerous, joining with 1659

[1] Ludlow was specially bitter against the 'Other House.' It was not 'a proper balance.' The men who sat there 'have been guilty of all the breaches upon the liberty of the people. If I am alone I would bear my witness against them. If you or they set themselves up against God, God will blast them.'

1659 them, in expectation that it might prove a good step towards the return of the former peerage: so the question
March 28. was put, 'Whether this House should transact with the Other House,' and carried in the affirmative[1]. We then desired, that seeing this House was undeniably more honourable in the members of it than the other, and much more in relation to those whom they represented, that the members of this House might not go to them with messages as formerly, unless the members of the new House would respectively come to us with their messages; or, that the Masters in Chancery, who were accustomed to be the Lords' messengers, might be divided between the two Houses for that purpose: but this also was denied, and we were told, that a feather might hinder the motion of a clock as well as a piece of iron. The subject of our first transaction with the Other House was touching a declaration for a fast, which, by some expressions in it, of taking shame to our selves for neglecting to settle the government of the church, and having permitted so many erroneous and heretical opinions to be divulged, with others of a like nature, discovered plainly in what mint it was forged. This declaration being agreed to, it was ordered to be carried to
April 14. the Other House for their concurrence by one Mr. Grove, who was accompanied by divers young gentlemen, and many of the Cavalier-party, all of them attending like so many lackeys at the bar of the Other House, whilst the ceremonies of presenting it were performed, which were the same that had been formerly used to the peers on the like occasion. Those of the Other House were wonderfully pleased with this application to them, having waited near

[1] The debates on the recognition of the second House and the bounds of its power, began on Feb. 19, and ended on March 28, with a vote 'That this House will transact with the persons now sitting in the Other House as a House of Parliament during this present Parliament; and that it is not hereby intended to exclude such peers as have been faithful to the Parliament, from their privilege of being duly summoned to be members of that House.' C. J. vii. 605, 621; Burton's Diary, iii. 345; iv. 86; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 60–73. The above resolution was passed by 198 to 125 votes.

three months for it, and having no business to do, had consumed great store of fire to keep them warm at the publick charge: yet upon the debate they found not so great a unanimity as in the receiving it; for Mr. Cromwel's party and the Presbyterians fell violently upon the Independents and some of the army, concerning some clauses therein inserted, as they said, by those of their party. These divisions were not confined within the walls of that House, but broke out in the army it self, the officers every where discovering their jealousies one of another. They were divided into three parties, and neither of them much superiour to the other in number. One party was known to be well affected to the Commonwealth, and consisted chiefly of the following officers, viz. Col. Ashfield, Col. Lilburn, Col. Fitz, Lieut.-Col. Mason, Lieut.-Col. Moss, Lieut.-Col. Farley, Major Creed, with divers captains and other inferior officers. A second party was known by the title of the Wallingford House, or army-party, who had advanced Mr. Richard Cromwel in expectation of governing all as they pleased: of these were Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Col. Desborough, Col. Sydenham, Col. Clark, Col. Kelsey, Col. Berry, Major Haines, treasurer Blackwel, and some others. The third party was that of Mr. Richard Cromwel, who having cast off those that had taken the pains to advance him, joined himself to men that were more sutable to his inclinations: such were Col. Ingoldsby, Col. Gough, Col. Whalley, Col. Howard, Col. Goodrick, Lieut.-Col. Keins, with many others, and more particularly those that were officers in the Scots and Irish forces. But his Cabinet Council were the Lord Broghil, Dr. Wilkins, and Col. Philip Jones. The differences between these parties being already very great, were yet much increased by the following accident. Col. Whalley, whom Richard had lately made Commissary-General of the horse, meeting with Col. Ashfield in Westminster-Hall, and discoursing with him concerning the Other House, about which their sentiments were very different, the Commissary-General fell into such a passion, that he threatned to strike the 1659

1659 colonel, who thereupon daring him to do it, Whalley chose rather to make his complaint to Mr. Richard Cromwel. Col. Ashfield being summoned to appear, the pretended Protector threatned to cashier him as a mutineer, for speaking in such a manner to a general officer of the army[1]. But the colonel desiring a fair and equal hearing by a council of officers, he was ordered to attend again. At the time appointed it was contrived that Col. Gough, Col. Ingoldsby, Col. Howard, Lieut.-Col. Goodrick, and other creatures of the Court should be present to decide the matter in dispute, who unanimously enjoined Col. Ashfield to acknowledg his fault, and to ask the Commissary-General's pardon for the same: but their endeavours herein proved ineffectual, for the colonel denying that he had offended the Commissary-General, refused to desire his pardon. Another thing happened about the same time that proved very disadvantageous to the interest of Mr. Richard Cromwel[2]. For a certain inferiour officer

[1] Col. Ashfield commanded one of the regiments stationed in Scotland. Monck writes to Thurloe on March 22, 1658: 'I am sorry to hear that any of the Scotch officers should be acting to divide and distract you. I could wish you had written to me the names of them. I heard of Col. Ashfield and my lieutenant-colonel [William Gough]; and if there be any more I shall desire to hear their names and I shall write to them. If they were heere these two could signify as little as any two officers in Scotland; but I could wish his Highnesse would command them away to their commands, which I think would bee the best course.' Thurloe, vii. 638.

[2] The story was told at length in 'A Second Narrative of the late Parliament,' 1658. 'One Cornet Sumpner in Col. Ingoldsby's regiment, knowing the wickedness and naughtiness of Major Babington (Major thereof) to be such as to disown and browbeat the honest men in the regiment, and to countenance drunkards, lyars, swearers, and haters of goodness and good men, being for a long time grieved thereat in his spirit, at length (by the advice of some eminent in the Army) drew up several articles to present to a court-martial, or elsewhere against him, which your most illustrious, serene, and renowned Protector, the inheritour of his father's vertues, hearing of, sends for the Cornet to come unto him; who when he was come, the Major and Colonel Ingoldsby, etc. being also present, your Joshua, Solomon and Elisha, spake after this manner to him: Josh. "What? have you articles against your Major?" Corn. "Yes." Josh. "What are they?" Corn. "A pretty number of them." Then the Major began to answer to one, but nothing to the purpose, but

having publicly murmured at the advancement of some that had been Cavaliers to commands in the army, he was carried to Whitehal to answer for the same. Mr. Richard Cromwel, besides other reproachful language, asked him in a deriding manner, whether he would have him prefer none but those that were godly? 'Here,' continued he, 'is Dick Ingoldsby who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all.' Those imprudent, as well as irreligious words, so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army and city of London, to his great prejudice. And from this time all men among them who made but the least pretences to religion and sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he governed, and thereupon soon formed a resolution to use their utmost endeavours to divide the military from the civil power, and to place the command of the army in Lieutenant-General Fleetwood. 1659

The Wallingford House party finding themselves abandoned by Mr. Richard Cromwel, and being very desirous, if not to get the whole power into their hands, yet at least to preserve what they were already possessed of, and to render themselves formidable, desired to renew a correspondence with the Commonwealths men, and to that end ordered Col. Kelsey, one of their members, to let me know that if I would go to Wallingford House, I should meet with a friendly reception from the Lieutenant-General and the

before the Major had done, your most serene Protector, or Joshua, unjustly takes part with the Major to help him out, saying to the Cornet, "You article against your Major because he is for me. You are a company of mutineers (meaning the officers who often met to seek the Lord and bewailed their apostacy from the good old cause), you deserve a hundred of you to be hanged; and I will hang you and strip you as a man would strip an eel; you talk of preaching and praying men, they are the men that go about to undermine me." And clapping his hand upon Colonel Ingoldsby's shoulder, said, "Go thy way, Dick Ingoldsby, thou canst neither preach nor pray, but I will believe thee before I believe twenty of them." And says he to the Cornet, "You never owned my father; you have lost your commission and shall never ride more in this army," and a great deal more to this purpose.'

On Richard Cromwell's attitude towards 'godly men,' see Thurloe, vii. 497.

1659 rest of the company. Accordingly I went thither, and perceiving them to agree that the measures then taken would inevitably bring in the common enemy, I could not forbear telling them that tho I was heartily sorry for the sad consequences such a revolution might bring upon the people of England, yet with respect to themselves they had merited whatsoever had already happened, or was justly to be feared, in that they had advanced a single person over us, when it was in their power to put us into a full possession of our liberties. However, that I presumed it was not yet too late, if they would resolve to join themselves to that part of the army who were well-affected to the Commonwealth, and who in conjunction with them would in all appearance be enabled to restore that government, which had cost the nation so much blood to establish. I told them that it would be convenient to give some earnest of the sincerity of their reconciliation with us in order to recover that trust and confidence from the Commonwealth-party, which was so necessary to our present undertaking; and to that end proposed that they would support and defend Col. Ashfield, who was like to suffer for his affection to the Commonwealth. They acquainted me that they had already appeared for the colonel, and promised to do him the best offices they could in his affair, yet expressed an unwillingness to ruin some of their friends who were of Mr. Cromwel's party, and particularly named Col. Whalley[1]. I replied that if Col. Whalley was so good a man to deserve that consideration from them, I perswaded my self he would not oppose them; but if he were otherwise, they could not justly be thought worthy of the honour of being imployed in the rescue and deliverance of their country, who should suffer themselves to be so much governed by private interests and engagements. Nothing more of moment passed between us in this conversation, except

[1] Whalley was suspected as being the late Protector's cousin. On August 5, 1659, when a list of the officers of Colonel Whalley's regiment was reported to Parliament, Whalley's appointment as colonel was negatived by 29 to 22 votes. C. J. vii. 749.

that they desired to keep a good correspondence with us, 1659
and to that end moved that they might see Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig, or at least be made acquainted with their opinion concerning the publick affairs, and receive their advice touching their future proceedings. I told them, it was my opinion, that those two gentlemen were too prudent to appear publickly in a matter of this nature, before full satisfaction that those of Wallingford House were in earnest, and had done something that should put them past all retreat: yet I promised them to inform my self concerning their sentiments, and to advertise them from time to time what measures they should think most proper to be taken. The next day I acquainted Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig with what had passed, and they approved the way that was proposed, and promised that when they saw it seasonable they would be ready to assist them in all things tending to the publick service. With this answer I went to Col. Sydenham, and desired him to impart it to the rest of the company at Wallingford House; and then asking him concerning their proceedings, he told me they designed to procure a General Council of Officers to be called, which if they could effect, he hoped it would be of great advantage to their affairs. After two or three days some of the principal of the party finding Mr. Cromwel alone, took the opportunity to perswade him of the necessity of calling a General Council of Officers, in order to present something to the House for the regulation and maintenance of the army; he not suspecting their design, consented to the proposition, and having issued out an order to that purpose, a General Council of Officers met [1].

[1] On Wednesday, April 6, a deputation of officers presented to the Protector an address entitled 'The humble representation and petition of the General Council of the officers of the armies of England, Scotland and Ireland,' which is printed in the 'Public Intelligencer' for April 11–18. It complains of the army's needs for want of its pay, and of the danger of the cause from the activity of the Cavaliers, and professes great fidelity to the Protector. 'This address,' says Mercurius Politicus for March 31–April 7, 'was received by his Highness with a very great affection and respect to the whole body of officers which presented it, using many expressions of tenderness and endearment to

1659 Both parties endeavoured to take advantage of this meeting, and the lightest vessels being usually most noisy, the Irish officers first moved that the council would petition the House that the Protector might be declared general of the army, as the only means to put an end to the divisions that were amongst them[1]: but this motion found so little approbation, that the Court party began to doubt of their success at this meeting, and had much more reason so to do, when they heard the hum that was given upon a proposition made to this effect, that it would be more advantagious to the army, and more conducing to the good of the nation, if the military and civil power might be placed in different hands, that the one might be a balance to the other. The temper and inclinations of the council being thus tried, they were adjourned to another day. In the mean time the party of Wallingford House beginning to appear more publickly, Col. Desborough and Col. Sydenham sent an officer to desire me to give them a meeting in the chamber where the committee for the army usually sate, and to bring with me two or three persons, in whose affections to the publick I had the most confidence. Accordingly I made choice of Col. Dixwel, and my cousin Mr. Wallop, and with them went to the place appointed, where our discourse tended chiefly to give reciprocal assurances of our resolution to join together in order to promote the publick good, promising to use our endeavours to remove all doubts and scruples that might remain in any of us, that by a mutual trust and confidence in each other, we might be the better

them as the old friends of his renowned father, and the faithful servants of the public interest of these nations, in the maintenance whereof he resolved to live and die with them, &c. In a word, so great a satisfaction appeared on either side at this meeting, as that it speaks nothing less than a vigorous asserting of the present government, to the terror and confusion of the common enemy.' Richard transmitted the address to the Parliament on April 18. Burton's Diary, iv. 479. This was the fruit of the first meeting of the council. Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 351.

[1] Possibly the story told in Morrice's life of Orrery should be referred to this meeting. Orrery State Papers, 1743, i. 54.

enabled to prevent the return of the common enemy. 1659
The second time the General Council of Officers met, they
went a step farther, and declared their apprehensions, that April 14.
the common cause was likely to be ruined by the subtilty
and artifices of those who had never been able to do it by
open force; and therefore desired that the command of the
army might be intrusted to the care of some fit person, in
whom they might all confide[1]. This proposition found so
general an approbation, that it was impossible for the courtiers
to resist the stream, and so the meeting was adjourned to
another day. In the mean time Mr. Cromwel and his party
were exceedingly alarm'd at these proceedings; and not
daring to trust to their own authority in this matter, they
contrived it so as to engage the Parliament in their defence.
Accordingly some members of the Commons House charged
the council with mutinous words there spoken against the
government, and against the resolutions of the Parliament
it self. This accusation was so well seconded, that the
House resolved to dissipate the storm, and to that end April 18.
passed a vote, that the officers of the army should no more
meet as a General Council. Yet for all this they met again
at the time appointed, in order to proceed in their design:
but the House having notice of it, and being very desirous
to enable Mr. Cromwel to make their vote effectual,
declared him to be general of their army, authorizing him
to disperse the officers to their respective charges, to
remove from their commands such as should disobey, and
to place others in the room of them. They also voted it to
be high treason in the officers to meet in council contrary

[1] The second meeting took place on April 13. Mercurius Politicus says: 'The officers of the armies of the three nations which are in town had a solemn meeting to humble themselves before God to seek his blessing in reference to their own affairs, where the work of the day was carried on by several ministers.' At this second meeting the demand for a commander-in-chief seems to have been made, but the question was adjourned to a third meeting to take place a week later, and a committee of twelve officers was appointed to consider it in the interim. Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 363. Cf. Thurloe, viii. 655.

1659 to their order, and promised to cause the arrears of those that should yield obedience, to be forthwith paid, with assurances to take care of them for the future. Mr. Richard Cromwel having notice of these votes, immediately went to the place where the Council of Officers was assembled; and having informed them of what had passed, he told them that he expected their present obedience. The officers not being then prepared to dispute his commands, withdrew themselves[1], but the chief of them continued their meetings in a more private manner, making use of all means imaginable to oblige Mr. Richard Cromwel to a compliance with them: but he relying on the strength of his new friends, refused to hearken to them; so that they perceived it to be high time to provide for the security of themselves. Information being given at Court that something extraordinary was in agitation, the Protector Richard sent

[1] Anthony Morgan, writing to Henry Cromwell on April 19, gives the following account of Richard's conduct: 'Yesterday his Highness ordered that all the officers who had met at Wallingford House should attend him at three after noon in Whitehall, where he told them (as I was informed by one present there) that he had acquainted the Parliament with their representation, that the desires in it were under their consideration, that it was not needful they should continue their meetings in expectation of an answer. That therefore they should not meet on Wednesday next as they had appointed, but should all repair to their charges; he added two reasons, one that many members of Parliament were dissatisfied with such meetings sitting the Parliament. The other that the Cavaleer was arming in order to some new attempts. Gen. Disbrowe replied he wondered that any honest man should be offended at their meetings to regulate disorders among themselves; his Highness affirmed his first order and withdrew. General Disbrowe and diuers others went out with him towards his chamber, as they went General Disbrowe said to his Highness, "But sir, the meeting is not dissolved for all this, for they adiorned themselves to a meeting at Wallingford house, and not to this place." His Highness replied, "Sir, I say they shall not meet there nor any where else." Coll. Ashfeild steps in and said, "Sir, this sudden order will put us to great inconveniences, and when wee come to our soldiers without mony wee shall not know what to say to them, besides there are divers officers but newly come to town." His Highness replied, "Sir, you of all men have least reason to except against this order, having been two years from your command, and I believe those who came lately to town will be willinger to returne then those who have been longer here."' Lansdowne MSS. 822, f. 275.

a message to Lieut.-General Fleetwood to come to him; 1659
but the messenger returned without an answer. Then he ordered some of the guard to be sent for him, but they desired to be excused. The Lieutenant-General having notice of this design, retired to St. James's, where many officers of the army resorting to him, it was concluded between them, that the whole army should rendezvouz at St. James's. The news of this resolution being brought to Mr. Cromwel, he also appointed a counter-rendezvouz to be at the same time at Whitehal. Accordingly Col. Gough sent orders for his regiment to march to Whitehal; but the major had already prevailed with them to draw to St. James's. Three troops of Col. Ingoldsby's horse marched also to St. James's, with part of two more, so that he had only one entire troop of his regiment to stand by him. Col. Whalley's regiment of horse for the most part left him, and went off to St. James's, which he seeing, opened his breast, and desired them to shoot him. Col. Hacker's regiment of horse being drawn up near Cheapside, Mr. Cromwel sent a message to the colonel, with an order to require him forthwith to march to Whitehal; but he excused himself, and said that he had received orders from Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to keep that post. Many also of Richard's own guard went to St. James's, and most of those that staid with him, declared they would not oppose any that should come to them by order from Lieutenant-General Fleetwood. Thus here was a general without an army, and divers great officers without souldiers; who having boasted of their interest in the army, and having thereby led the House into their late rash proceedings, now being utterly disappointed in their hopes and expectations, knew not what to advise, or what to do. About noon Col. Desborough went to Mr. Richard Cromwel at Whitehal, and told him that if he would dissolve his Parliament, the officers would take care of him; but that, if he refused so to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself. Having taken a little time to consider of it, and finding no other way left to do better, he consented to

1659 what was demanded[1]. This great alteration was made with
April 22. so little noise, that very few were alarm'd at it. The next morning the House met, and divers members made extravagant motions, rather, as was supposed, to vent their own passions, than from any hopes of success: for whatever were the resolutions that had been made by the Court junto, they could not suddenly be brought to a vote, because the contrary party was considerably increased by this change of affairs. Few of the House knew of the resolution taken to put a period to them, or if they did, were unwilling to take notice of it; so that when the usher of the Black Rod, who attended the Other House, came to let the serjeant at arms know that it was the pleasure of the Protector that the House of Commons should attend him at the Other House, many of them were unwilling to admit the serjeant into the House to deliver the message; but the Commonwealth party demanded, and obtained, that he should give the House an account of what the gentleman of the Black Rod had said to him[2]. The Assembly being under this con-

[1] Foreign accounts are more explicit than English on the circumstances of Richard Cromwell's fall. See the letter of M. de Vaux, Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1658–9, p. 335; and Bordeaux's despatch of May 5. Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 370. Baker's Chronicle, p. 659, describes Richard as obstinately refusing for 'a great while' to sign the commission for the dissolution of the Parliament, 'till Desborough insolently told him, it should be done without him, and urged by threats and importunities he at length consented to do it.' Bordeaux says: 'Although the Protector was aware of this general alienation, and his friends had scarcely been able to find 200 men in the whole army who were disposed to back him, he nevertheless exhibited great firmness, and declared he would suffer any violence rather than grant the demand which was made of him. This refusal obliged General Desborough to come to threats, and to inform him that he was not in a position to defer even for an hour the execution of any resolution the army had adopted. On this His Highness seeing that the necessity was inevitable, and that those who were with him were of opinion that he must submit to force, after having again expressed his displeasure and repugnance, promised that which he was unable to refuse.'

[2] Of the debates of Parliament on Friday, April 22, nothing is known. The journals of the Commons are extremely meagre and Burton's Diary closes on April 21. Bordeaux says that some members 'proposed that the officers of the army should be declared traitors; others that the protection of the City of London should

fusion, adjourned themselves till eight of the clock the next morning; but care was taken to prevent their meeting again by publishing a proclamation, declaring them to be dissolved, by setting a padlock on the door of the House, and by placing a guard in the Court of Requests, with orders to refuse admittance to all those that should demand it. The army having broken this Assembly, were not so unanimous in resolving what step to take next. The chief of them were most inclined to patch up some agreement with Mr. Richard Cromwel, if they could effect it with advantage to themselves. In the mean time they permitted the ordinary course of justice to run in his name, whilst they themselves disposed of the offices of the army at their pleasure, removing such as had appeared active against them at the time of their general rendezvouz, and filling the vacancies with their own creatures. They took Major-General Lambert into their councils, and restored him, together with Col. Packer, and Capt. Gladman, to their several commands[1]. Sir Charles Coot went post for Ireland to carry the news of this great alteration to Col. Henry Cromwel, and to consult what might be done to continue their reign. Col. Henry Ingoldsby hastned after 1659

be demanded and that the House should remove its meetings thither. The Presbyterians among others appeared very animated, and General Fairfax was highly indignant: some Republicans also affected dissatisfaction; but no conclusion was arrived at, as many of the members desired and had secretly promoted the dissolution of the Parliament, because they found it was too blindly devoted to the Protector's interest.' Guizot, i. 372. The proclamation for the dissolution is dated April 22, and was printed April 23.

[1] Phillips, in his continuation of Baker's Chronicle, summarises these changes. 'At a meeting of a general council of officers, they removed the Protector from his regiment, and the Colonels Ingoldsby, Howard, the Lord Faulconbridge, and Colonel Bridge from theirs; Col. Norton they displaced from the government of Portsmouth, which they gave to Col. Whetham, and made Col. Edward Salmon governor of Hull in the room of Col. Smith. . . . . To Col. Sanders they gave the Protector's regiment of horse; to Col. Rich that of Ingoldsby; to Sir Arthur Haslerig Col. Howard's regiment of foot with the government of Berwick, Carlisle and Tinmouth: to Lambert they gave the Lord Faulconbridge's regiment, and to Okey that which was his own before, which was lately commanded by Col. Bridge.' p. 660.

1659 him on the same account[1]; and soon after their arrival, all possible care was taken to maintain themselves. To that end Sir Charles Coot was sent into Connaught, Lieutenant-Col. Flower into Ulster, the lord Broghil into Munster; and the troops they most confided in were ordered to march towards Dublin. This being done, a council of officers was called together by Col. Cromwel, and a proposition made to them that they would declare themselves ready to stand by and defend Mr. Richard Cromwel; which they declined to do at that time, desiring to see what course would be taken by the army in England before they should declare themselves[2]. In England there were not wanting some who endeavoured to support this tottering government; but finding themselves hopeless of success in or about London, they resolved to act their parts farther off. In order to this they made choice of the north, principally by reason of the neighbourhood of Scotland, where the forces were commanded by Colonel George Monk, a person of an ambitious and covetous temper, of loose, or rather no principles, and of a vicious and scandalous conversation. The chief instruments made use of in this design were the lord Falconbridg and Col. Howard, who, tho they had attended on Lieutenant-General Fleetwood before they began their journey, to assure him of their resolutions to acquiesce, yet had both tampered with their regiments, in order to fit them to their purposes, and also held a correspondence

[1] Col. Henry Ingoldsby (1622–1701) was the younger brother of Richard Ingoldsby, and represented the counties of Kerry, Limerick, and Clare in the Parliaments of 1654, 1656, and 1659. He married a daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, and was in 1659 governor of Limerick. He was said to have boasted that he would withstand the new republican government 'to the wearing out of his old shoes,' but Ludlow displaced him from the command of his regiment, and put Col. Robert Barrow in his place. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659–1660, pp. 12, 19. On Dec. 28, 1659, he (not his brother Richard) was thanked by Parliament for securing Windsor Castle. C. J. vii. 798. A letter from him to the Parliament, dated Feb. 1, 1660, is printed in Grey's Examination of Neal's Puritans, iv. 143. It concerns the remodelling of the Irish army and the undoing of Ludlow's work.

[2] On the reception of the news of this revolution in Ireland, see Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, pp. 12, 19; Thurloe, vii. 674, 683, 686.

with Col. Monk, who was not a little suspected by the confederated officers of Wallingford House. 1659

The Wallingford House party, who had thus possessed themselves of the supreme power, were every day pressed from all parts, and especially from the city of London, to restore the Long Parliament, as the only means to satisfy the people, and to establish an equal and just government amongst us in the way of a Commonwealth[1]. Neither were there wanting divers officers of the army, who positively declared that they would not rest contented with any thing less[2]. Besides, the Commonwealth-party had absolutely refused to hearken to any propositions of accommodation with Mr. Rich. Cromwel, and great endeavours had been used by the son of the late King in conjunction with the Presbyterians to raise tumults and insurrections in England. To which may be added, the great probability that appeared of a peace to be concluded speedily between France and Spain, who would then be at leisure to assist the common enemy. These things being seriously considered by those of Wallingford House, and finding themselves destitute of all other means to supply the necessities of the army and navy, they were compelled at last to admit the debate of the restitution of

[1] 'The humble Representation of divers well affected persons of the City of Westminster,' addressed to Fleetwood, April 25.

[2] Fleetwood and Desborough wished to retain Richard as Protector with strictly limited powers. The inferior officers were eager for the restoration of the Long Parliament and for a Commonwealth, and the leaders were obliged to give way. On the dissensions in the army, see Baker, 659–660; Thurloe, vii. 666; Guizot, i. 373–387. 'Many are persuaded,' writes Bordeaux on May 5 (i. e. April 25, English style), 'that the Protector will remain in his place, at least for some time; that Generals Fleetwood and Desborough will have all the authority; that the Council will continue to act, and that another Parliament will be summoned, that will manifest a greater desire for the public good. Others believe that the Commonwealth will be again established, as most of the inferior officers of the army desire that form of government; that they have even begun already to entertain suspicions of their chief because they believe him to have other inclinations; and that they have appointed agitators, as in former times, for the preservation of their interests.'

1659 the Long Parliament amongst other propositions that were under their consideration. They also restored some officers to their commands who had suffered for their affections to the Parliament; and amongst others Col. Okey and Col. Saunders, who had been cashiered by Oliver Cromwel on that account. The proposition of restoring the Parliament met with great opposition from many of those that had tasted the sweetness of power and profit under the late usurpation of the Cromwels, and who feared a more equal distribution of things; and therefore they every where affirmed that there was not a sufficient number of members left to make up a Parliament. Hereupon Dr. John Owen[1] having desired me to give him a list of their names, I delivered him one, wherein I had marked those who had sat in the House since the year 1648 and were yet alive, amounting to the number of about one hundred and sixty. The doctor having perused it, carried it to those at Wallingford House, who for the reasons before-mentioned appointed a committee of their associates to treat with some members of that Parliament, in order to a clearing of some particulars which seemed most considerable to them, before they should proceed to a final determination in this great affair. The place of
April 29. meeting was Sir Henry Vane's house at Charing-Cross; the persons of and from the army were Major-General Lambert, Col. John Jones, Col. Kelsey, Col. Berry, &c. Those of the Parliament were Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Major Saloway and my self. The things demanded by those of the army were,

1. To be secured by an act of indemnity for what was past.

2. That some provision of power might be made for Mr. Richard Cromwel, as well as for the paiment of his debts, and future subsistence in a plentiful manner,

[1] On John Owen's share in these events, see Orme's Life of Owen, pp. 277–281. He preached before the Parliament on May 8, 1659, when its restoration was solemnly celebrated. Old Parliamentary History, xxi. 381.

they having promised to take care of him in these particulars. 1659

3. That what should stand in need of regulation both in the law and clergy, should be reformed and amended.

4. That the government of the nation should be by a representative of the people, and by a select senate [1].

For the first, it was thought reasonable that something of that nature should be done, as well to gratify those who should contribute to our return, as for our own future peace and quiet.

Touching the second proposition concerning a provision to be made for Mr. Richard Cromwel, we said, that tho the Parliament and nation had been greatly injured by the interruption they had received, yet seeing those that were at present in possession of the power had engaged to make some provision for him, we were contented for our selves, that those debts which he had contracted on the public account should be paid, that so he might be enabled to subsist comfortably: but that we could by no means consent to continue any part of his late assumed power to him, neither could we believe that such a proposition would ever be hearkened to by the members of the Parliament if they should come together.

The third proposition was easily agreed to, all of us declaring that we would use the utmost of our endeavours to rectify and reform whatsoever should appear to be amiss either in Church or State.

In the fourth proposition we found a greater difficulty,

[1] Bordeaux writes on May $\frac{18}{28}$ that the army demanded a select senate because it desired, 'in order to avoid a sudden transition from one form of government to the other, to propose a form of government somewhat approaching to that which has been destroyed. . . . But Sir H. Vane and three other eminent Republicans, in a conference which they had with the leaders of the army, persuaded them to leave the whole matter to the Parliament, which was but little inclined to create a senate which it would be necessary to compose of officers of the army, who have authority enough in other respects; it has been deemed more expedient to institute a Council of State.' Guizot, i. 383. The demands of the army are contained in their address of May 12. See Cal. S. P., Dom., 1658–9, p. 345; Old Parliamentary History, xxi. 400.

1659 not being all of the same opinion with respect to that part of it relating to the senate. Whereupon finding that out of a desire to avoid any thing that might prove an obstruction to the return of the Parliament, or possibly from an inclination in some to the thing it self, there was an intention by a general silence about that matter, to give them hopes of our compliance ; therefore that they might have no just occasion to say hereafter, that we had dealt doubly with them, keeping fair in that particular before our admission, and after we were admitted, declaring against it, I thought it my duty to let them know, that if by a select senate they understood a lasting power, co-ordinate with the authority of the people's representative, and not chosen by the people, I could not engage to promote the establishment of such a power, apprehending that it would prove a means to perpetuate our differences, and make it necessary to keep up a standing force to support it. But if they proposed to erect such an authority only for a short time, and in order to proceed with more vigour to an equal and just establishment of the Commonwealth, I presumed it might be very useful, and that the people would readily acquiesce when it should be evident that it was designed to no other end than to prevent them from destroying themselves, and not to enslave them to any faction or party. After four or five hours' debate concerning these particulars, we desired them to consider that whatsoever had been said by us in this conference, ought only to be taken as proceeding from private men, and that we durst not presume to promise any thing on the part of the Parliament. However we encouraged them to hope, that if we four joined in proposing any thing in the House for the public good, we might probably bring it to effect. At the conclusion of our conversation Major-General Lambert assured us, that he would represent to the General Council what had passed between us as fairly and with as much advantage as we could desire [1]. After

[1] In the 'Declaration of the General Council of Oct. 27, 1659,' the officers give their account of these conferences. They say that having set

three or four days the same company met again at the same place, where those that were employed by the council of officers declared the resolution of themselves, and of those they represented, to be, that the Parliament should be restored, and thereupon pressed us that the members might meet with all possible expedition, being perswaded that delays in a matter of such importance might hazard the success of all. Therefore it was resolved that notice should be given to such members as were in town to meet on the Thursday following at Mr. Lenthal their Speaker's house, and that the officers of the army should come thither, and there acquaint us with the desires of the army. At the time appointed about sixteen of us went to the Speaker's house, and having informed him of the cause of our coming, he began to make many trifling excuses, pleading his age, sickness, and inability to sit long[1]. Soon after the committee from the General Council came, and

1659

May 6.

forth their principles in 'some previous meetings, with some worthy and leading members of that House, who, upon debate with us, approved of the principles aforesaid, and communicated them to divers of their fellow members,' they were persuaded 'that not only old displeasures would have been forgotten, but that the single welfare and settled government of this Commonwealth would have been onely aimed at; and (as by one of the chief amongst themselves was exprest) having in two months or thereabouts settled the government of these nations, go up with Moses to Mount Nebo and die.'

[1] This interview took place on Friday, May 6, not on the previous day. Mercurius Politicus, under May 6, gives the following account: 'It was ordered by the Lord Fleetwood and the General Council of the Officers of the Army that their Declaration should be printed and published, entituled, "A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament who continued sitting till the 20 of April 1653 to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust" . . . With the said Declaration in writing, the Lord Lambert and many other principal commanders of the Army went this evening to the Rolls in Chancerie-Lane, where it was by them presented to the Speaker. After their departure, many of the most eminent members of Parliament came also, and gave a visit to the Speaker to signifie their intent to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust according to the invitation given them by the officers of the Army, and they declared the purpose of the members to meet to-morrow morning by eight of the clock in the Painted Chamber, there to consider and resolve about the sitting of the Parliament.' Cf. C. J. vii. 644.

1659 Major-General Lambert in the name of the rest acquainted the Speaker, that in order to reconcile our differences, and to unite all those that were well affected to the publick, it was the desire of the army that the Parliament would return to the discharge of their duty according to the trust reposed in them by the people of England, promising to stand by them, and serve them to the utmost of their power. The Speaker, who had been lately at Court, where they had prevailed with him to endeavour to render this design, which they feared above all things, ineffectual; and on the other hand being unwilling to lose his late acquired peerage, renewed his former excuses, with this addition, that he was not fully satisfied that the death of the late King had not put an end to the Parliament. To this it was answered, that by a law made by an undisputed authority, the Parliament could not be dissolved without their own consent, which had never yet been given. And therefore they desired him, as he valued the peace and happiness of the nation, to send his letters to such members as were about the town, requiring them to meet the next morning in the Lords' House, in order to resume their places in the House of Commons so soon as they might make up a quorum. He replied, that he could by no means do as we desired, having appointed a business of far greater importance to himself, which he would not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. We then pressed him to inform us what it might be: to which he answered, that he was preparing himself to participate of the Lord's Supper, which he resolved to take on the next Lord's-day. Upon this it was replied, that mercy is more acceptable to God than sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for the foresaid duty, than by contributing to the publick good. But he resolving to perform some part of his promise to Mr. Richard Cromwel, would not be perswaded to send letters to the members, as it was desired. So that we found our selves obliged to tell him, that the service of the publick had been too long obstructed by the will of single

persons; and that if he refused to issue out his letters to the members, we would cause it to be done by other means[1]: and thereupon gave orders to such clerks as we then had there ready for that purpose, to draw directions for the messengers who were to summon the members, and to divide the list amongst them, in such a manner as might best provide for the expedition of the business. In the morning about thirty members being come, and the number increasing continually, the Speaker, who had appointed his spies to bring him word whether we might probably make up a House or not, being informed that we wanted not above three or four, notwithstanding the salvation of his soul, thought it time to come to us, and soon after the requisite number was compleated. About twelve a-clock we went to take our places in the House, Mr. Lenthal our Speaker leading the way, and the officers of the army lining the rooms for us, as we passed through the Painted Chamber, the Court of Requests, and the lobby it self, the principal officers having placed themselves nearest to the door of the Parliament-House, every one seeming to rejoice at our restitution, and promising to live and die with us. The same day the House appointed a Committee of Safety[2], with authority to seize and secure such as might justly be suspected of any design to disturb the publick peace, and also to remove such officers of the

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May 7.

[1] The form of letter sent to summon absent members, which was drawn by Henry Marten, is printed in C. J. vii. 645.

[2] The Committee of Safety was appointed May 7, and on May 9 Parliament declared 'that all such as shall be in any place of trust or power in this Commonwealth be able for the discharge of such trust; and that they be persons fearing God; and that have given testimony of their love to all the people of God; and of their faithfulness to the cause of this Commonwealth according to the declaration of Parliament of May 7, 1659.' It was then referred to such of the Committee of Safety as were members of Parliament 'to consider of fit persons to be settled in civil and military employments, that may be qualified according to the declaration now passed; and to report the names of such persons to the Parliament for their allowance and approbation.' On May 11 the Committee of Safety presented a report recommending the appointment of five commissioners to nominate the officers of the army, which was done on May 13. C. J. vii. 646–650.

1659 army as they should think fit, and to fill their places with others, till the Parliament should take farther order therein. The persons constituted to be of that committee were Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Col. Sydenham, Major Saloway, Col. John Jones, and my self. These were of the House, and to them were joined from without Major-General Lambert, Col. Desborough, and Col. Berry. The time appointed for the duration of their power was, if I mistake not, eight days, by which time it was supposed the House would be able to constitute a Council of State, to take care of affairs of that nature. The Parliament referred to the committee to give notice to foreign ambassadors residing in England, and to the ministers of this nation employed in foreign parts, of their return to the exercise of their authority. They likewise directed them to inform themselves what alliances England had abroad, and to report the state of that affair to the House. They impowered them also to make inquiry into the miscarriages of officers during the late confusions, to remove such as they found guilty, to put others in their places, and then to lay the whole matter before the Parliament for their approbation. To the members of the House that were of the committee, they added Mr. Scott; and then ordered them to take a view of all the civil officers of the nation, authorizing them to displace those that should be found unfit to serve, and to place others in the room of them, and to report what they had done to the House. Writs and all proceedings at law were directed to run as formerly in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England. And lest the judges who were members of the House might by their influence there prevent the intended reformation of the law, it was resolved that no members of Parliament should be a judg in any court. Information being given to the committee that Col. Norton governour of Portsmouth had let fall some expressions of discontent, they knowing the
May 12. place to be of great importance, sent down Col. Whetham, who formerly had been governour thereof, to take possession

of the government of it[1]; at which tho the colonel was much disturbed, yet in a letter to me written by him soon after, he assured me he should be very well satisfied, if we would proceed to the settlement of an equal Commonwealth. A Committee for the Sea-affairs was also appointed by the Parliament, who being informed of the disaffection of some that managed the business of the admiralty to the present government, the House was earnestly pressed to pass a vote for excluding them from that employment; but at last they were prevailed with to refer it to the committee which they had already appointed for nominating officers, to propose some for that charge[2]. The committee having resolved to acquaint the persons they designed to propose to the Parliament, with their intentions beforehand, demanded of Col. Kelsey if he would accept of it, and easily obtained his consent, tho they told him they could not promise him any other salary than what he should merit by a diligent performance of the duties of the place. The same proposition being made to Col. Clark, he told them, he would consider well before he would engage so far with the present authority. This carriage of the colonel caused me to suspect that the army had still some design on foot, more than appeared openly; and I was the rather induced to this suspicion by his relation to Thurloe the late secretary, and his familiarity with Col. Desborough; especially considering that the way was still open to reconcile themselves to Mr. Richard Cromwel, who yet remained at Whitehall without making any preparations for his removal. The officers also, under colour of inquiring into the miscarriages of the late governments, and modelling the affairs of the army, had frequent meetings, wherein greater care was taken to maintain their own faction, than to provide for the publick 1659

[1] See C. J. vii. 653; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1688-9, p. 355.

[2] The Commissioners of the Navy consisted of members of Parliament, soldiers and merchants, viz. Vane, George Thompson, John Carew, Richard Salwey, Valentine Walton, Mr. Say, John Langley, Thomas Boone, and Cols. Herbert Morley, Ed. Salmon, Thos. Kelsey, and John Clerk. C. J. vii. 665, 669.

1659 service. It was very evident by the lists of officers presented by them to the committee, that the Wallingford-house party was not so averse to the creatures of Mr. Richard Cromwel, as they were to those who had been sufferers on the account of the Commonwealth. So that Major-General Overton, Col. Rich, Col. Alured, and Capt. Bremen, were not without great difficulty received into the service[1]. The regiment of horse that had been commanded by Col. Howard was given to Sir Arthur Haslerig; and a day or two after it was proposed that I should be colonel of that which had been commanded by Col. Gough, Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway earnestly pressing me to accept of it. But being unwilling to intermeddle with any employment of advantage under the Parliament, that I might give my voice in the House with more freedom and impartiality, I desired to be excused. Having taken this resolution, Sir Arthur Haslerig came to me and told me, that unless I did accept it, he would quit the regiment he commanded, which he protested to have taken, not with a design to make any advantage of it, being resolved not to receive any pay, but only to have a right to be present at the councils of war, whereby he might be enabled to do some good, and possibly to prevent more mischief. Having weighed these things, and considered that our greatest danger was likely to arise from the army, the principal officers of which had been debauched from their duty by Oliver Cromwel, and had learn'd their own strength when they obstructed his design to be King; that they had placed his son in the same power after his death, and pulled him down again upon their dislike of his government, I consented to undertake the command of the regiment that was offered to me. The Parliament having many important affairs under their consideration, were not yet at leisure to constitute a Council of State, and therefore continued the powers granted to the Committee of Safety for a longer time, and declared their intentions to be,

[1] See Mercurius Politicus, May 19–26, 1659, which gives an account of an interview between Fleetwood and these officers.

that the nation should be governed in the way of a Commonwealth, without a King, single person, or House of Lords. 1659

They also ordered that Whitehall should be cleared with all convenient speed for the use of the public; that care should be taken of the goods and furniture belonging to it, and that the committee should take care that Mr. Richard Cromwell might have notice of these their resolutions. In the mean time the Parliament took into their consideration what powers and instructions were requisite for the Council of State [1], and voted their number to consist of thirty one, whereof twenty one to be of the Parliament, and ten to be of such persons as were not members of the House. And the better to shew the consideration the Parliament had for some eminent persons who were not of their body, and principally for the officers of the army, it was first agreed, that the Lord President Bradshaw, the Lord Fairfax, Major-General Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Berry, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir Horatio Townsend, should be members of the council [2]. Mr. Love (in consideration that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had voted with the Commonwealth party in the last convention) moved that he might be one, though his affections were well known to be to another interest, and Mr. Nevill having hopes that Sir Horatio Townsend was a friend to the Commonwealth, for the same reason, moved for his addition, which two motions being upon the rising of the House made on a sudden before any could recollect themselves to speak against them, there being also an unwillingness to disoblige those of whom there was any hope, were consented to. The next morning the Parliament proceeded to the election of twenty one of their members

May 16.

May 13.

May 14.

[1] On May 12, Col. Jones reported from the Committee of Safety the draft of an act constituting a Council of State. The instructions were read and amended by Parliament on May 13, and the members of the council appointed on May 13, 14, 16. The bill was read a first and second time on May 18, and finally passed on May 19. C. J. vii. 652–5, 658, 659; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1658–9, p. 349.

[2] The account of the nomination of Cooper and Townsend is inserted from the suppressed passages printed by Christie.

1659 to be of the Council of State, according to their former resolution, and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, Lieut.-Gen. Fleetwood, Major Saloway, Col. Morley, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, Col. Algernon Sidney, Mr. Henry Nevil, Col. Walton, Col. Dixwel, Mr. Wallop, Chief Justice St. Johns, Mr. Thomas Scott, Col. Thomson, Mr. Robert Reynolds, Col. Sydenham, Col. John Jones, the Lord Commissioner Whitlock, Sir James Harrington, Col.
May 16. Downes, and my self. Then to compleat the number of ten, who were to consist of persons that were not members, they chose the Lord Warriston, Sir Robert Honywood, and Mr. Josias Berners. The officers of the army were not at all pleased with this election, perceiving they should not be permitted to act arbitrarily, as they desired, and therefore seldom came to the council; and when they condescended to come, carried themselves with all imaginable perverseness and insolence. They scrupled to take the oath to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, in opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single person, which the Parliament had appointed to be taken by every member of the council before he took his place. And because they were ashamed to own themselves dissatisfied with the substance of the oath, they pretended to be unwilling to take any; yet professing a readiness to promise as much as the oath required. This distinction seemed very nice to most of us; but that there might be no difference about ceremonies, the Parliament was
May 24. prevailed with to grant liberty to the council to alter the engagement into such a form as might give them satisfaction[1]. Notwithstanding all which condescension they were hardly perswaded to take it, and when they had done it, they seldom came to discharge their duty at the board,

[1] May 24, 1659. 'Resolved, that Lieut.-Gen. Fleetwood and Col. Sydenham be admitted to sit and act, as members of the Council of State, upon their promise and declaration to do and perform the things contained in the oath appointed to be taken by every member of the council as well as if they had taken the said oath: and that it be referred to the council to dispense in like manner with any other member thereof that shall in point of conscience scruple at the formality of the oath, as there shall be occasion.' C. J. vii. 664.

pretending that, by reason of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper's being of the council and Sir H. Townsend, they could not with freedom speak their minds there nor carry on the public work, they supposing these persons to be assured to Charles Stewart's interest, and that they would give intelligence to him of all that passed [1]. That we might remove this rub, endeavours were used with them both to manifest their affections to the public, for removing of jealousies between the Parliament and the army, by desiring the House to excuse them from that employment, or at least to forbear coming to the council. Sir H. Townsend very ingenuously chose to do the latter, pretending occasions of his own which drew him into the country. But Sir Anthony having it in design to be a *boutefeu* between the Parliament and the army, as his after carriage will make appear, makes use of this occasion, and comes into the council with much confidence, and moves with much importunity to have the oath administered to him, professing himself ready to take the same, yet having a secret resolve to break it at the same time (as there was ground to suspect), but the council not having any power to refuse it him permitted him to take it. And being thus ensnared, as the best remedy to prevent inconveniences, they appoint a committee of examination and secrecy, whom they entrusted with great powers, to wit, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, Major-General Lambert, Major Salloway, Mr. Scott, Serjeant Bradshaw, and myself. Yet so hot and confident was Sir Anthony grown, that to pursue his mischievous design, he solicits the Parliament that they would admit him to sit upon an election of seventeen or eighteen years standing, which never was adjudged, and we could find no better way to put him off (so far had he insinuated into the members) than to refer the consideration thereof to the committee of five formerly appointed by the Parliament for the receiving of satisfaction touching those members who had not sat 1659

[1] The whole of this page and the first two lines of p. 86 are derived from the suppressed passages printed by Christie.

1659 from 1648, who alleging their powers were at an end, it was referred to them to search their books, and state matter of fact in relation thereto. Things being in this posture, the enemies to the government thought it a proper time to attempt something before a good agreement might be made between the Parliament and army: in order to which great numbers of arms were bought up by them in London, whereof notice was given to a committee of the Council of State[1]. A chest filled with arms was sent to the House of one Mr. Overbury of Glocestershire, of which he gave notice to Capt. Crofts, who commanded the county troop; and the captain having caused the trunk to be opened, found in it ten case of common pistols, one fine pair with the name of one Harman Barnes the maker upon them, together with a compleat sute of armor. The committee of the Council of State sent for the said Harman Barnes, and upon examination found him to have been gunsmith to Prince Rupert, and so confused in his answers, that we thought it necessary to secure him and his arms, amounting to the number of two hundred carabines, and as many pair of pistols ready fixed, besides a great number unfixed, tho he had affirmed to us that he had no more than thirty pair of pistols in his house. The Cavalier party having boasted to divers persons that Mr. How of Glocestershire had given them assurances of his service, the committee sent for him to appear before them, which he did, and in his examination acknowledged, that he had a certain number of arms in his house which he had purchased at the time of the late dispute between Richard's and the Commonwealth party, that he might be ready to serve the public on that occasion, if there had been any necessity; and had given assurance to Sir Arthur Haslerig and me of the same good intentions. Hereupon tho I could not but justify the committee in sending for

[1] Salwey reported from the Committee of Safety on May 9, the state of the designs of the Royalists. C. J. vii. 646; cf. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1658-9, p. 353. John Grubham Howe was M.P. for Gloucestershire in the Parliaments of 1654, 1656, and 1658-9.

him, on account of the informations we had received, yet I thought my self obliged to do him justice, and accordingly informed the committee, that on the day of the dissolution of Richard's convention, Mr. How came to me in Westminster Hall, and assured me of his affection to the Commonwealth, and that whensoever I should signify to him that there was occasion for his service, he would be ready to hazard both life and estate in the defence of it. The council being satisfied with this testimony, gave present orders for his discharge. In the mean time the Wallingford-house party not forgetting their design, drew an address to the Parliament, and presented it by the hands of the chief officers of the army, that so it might either have a greater influence upon the House, or, if it prevailed not there, that it might be a means to unite them all against the Parliament. The principal heads of the address were, that those who had acted under the late power might be indemnified by an Act of Parliament; that Lieutenant-General Fleetwood might be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army; that the debts of the Protector might be satisfied, and that he might have ten thousand pounds by year added to his revenue; that the government of the nation might consist of a representative of the people, and of a select senate; that care might be taken for the paiment of the army, and that liberty of conscience might be secured to all such who professed faith in Jesus Christ, and were not scandalous in their conversation[1]. The Parliament gave them for answer, that they would take their desires into their speedy consideration, and give them satisfaction therein as far as should be possible. And that for the future no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition,

1659

May 13.

[1] On May 10, 1659, Parliament appointed a committee consisting of Ludlow, Vane and twenty-one others 'to consider of the imprisonment of such persons who continue committed for conscience sake; and how and in what manner they are and continue committed, together with the whole cause thereof, and how they may be discharged.' C. J. vii. 648. Numerous petitions were subsequently referred to this committee, and many persons discharged, including James Naylor (Sept. 18).

1659 as had formerly been practised, a bill was prepared and
June 4. brought in, constituting the seven persons following, viz. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Major-General Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Berry, Sir Henry Vane, and my self, to be Commissioners for the nomination of officers to be presented to the consideration and approbation of the Parliament[1]. Another bill was brought
June 4. in to constitute Lieut.-General Fleetwood Commander-in-Chief, and it was resolved that his commission should continue during the present session, or till the Parliament should take farther order therein; and instead of authorizing the Lieutenant-General to grant commissions to such officers as should be appointed by the Parliament, it was
June 6. ordered that the said commissions should be subscribed by the Speaker, and received from his hands, by which it was endeavoured to bring the military sword under the power of the civil authority, as it ought to be in a free nation. But observing that these things were greatly disliked by

[1] In the declaration of Oct. 27, the Council of Officers complain bitterly of the operations of this committee. 'What factions hereupon grew up in the army, what new moulding, changing, and transforming thereof (to the discomposure of the whole), how parties were made, headed, and encouraged by divers members sitting in Parliament, and strengthened, not onely by bringing divers persons into command of prejudiced minds, but by removing faithful officers into remote parts of this Commonwealth, without any cause shewen, or consultations had with the Commander-in-Chief thereupon, was not onely notoriously known by those, who are concerned in military affairs, but obvious to common observations.' p. 6. The charge is answered on p. 20 of 'The Declaration of the Officers of the Army opened': 'Some of us do know that the whole modellizing of the army now, was by Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Berry, and the reason they gave to the rest of the number, viz. Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, Lieut.-Generall Ludlow, was because they were strangers to the whole army. and did not know them, but they Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Berry did; and on this ground what officers soever that Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Berry did object against was laid aside, and whatever officer they would have put into the army was so, except some few. . . The Parliament did not refuse any that they under five of their hands did present to them, except Cols. Whaly and Boteler, and one Cap. Goff of Col. Alured's regiment.' The minutes of this committee for the nomination of officers are amongst the domestic state papers, but unluckily they are imperfect. Cf. Thurloe, vii. 754.

the officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our cause to maintain a good correspondence between the Parliament and army, I earnestly pressed the House not to insist upon the restrictions before-mentioned, especially considering that they consisted rather in form than substance: for tho the time of a commission be not expressly limited, yet it can last no longer than during the pleasure of those that give it; and if it should happen to be used to the destruction of those from whom it was received, it actually puts a period to it self. Neither could it be thought very material, whether a commission was signed by one person or another, so long as it was derived from the same authority. Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway were of the same opinion, but Sir Arthur Haslerig, Col. Sidney, Mr. Nevil, and the majority of the House, carried it for the said limitations and restrictions; and many of the House began to entertain a hard opinion of me on the account of this moderation, as if I had espoused the interest of the army against the Parliament. The two acts being passed, it was ordered that notice of them should be given to the army, and that the House expected that the Commander-in-Chief, with the rest of the officers approved by the Parliament, should take their commissions from the hands of the Speaker as he sate in the chair. Hereupon a council of officers being summoned to Col. Desborough's house to consult about this affair, Sir Arthur Haslerig desired me not to fail to meet him there. The council being met, divers officers, and especially those of the first rank, openly manifested their discontent against the clauses before-mentioned; Major-General Lambert saying that they implied a diffidence of the army, and that they had no assurance that the Parliament would continue them in their imployments, which, he said, was contrary to the promises made to them before the restitution of the Parliament. It was answered, that no private persons either could, or had promised more than to use their endeavours in the House to procure certain things to be done, and that whatsoever had been so promised by any of

1659

June 7, 8.

1659 us, had been fully effected by the Parliament: for they had continued the commands of the army in such hands as had been agreed on; neither was there any colour for them to suspect any intention to alter the same. They were told that the Parliament could not justly be blamed, if they endeavoured to preserve their authority, that had been so eminently violated of late: that it was our duty to judg favourably of the actions of the Parliament, and especially since they had given such evident demonstration to the world that they designed not to perpetuate their authority by a late vote that had passed with the two acts complained of, that the Parliament should be dissolved in the month of May next ensuing[1]: whereby they had engaged themselves, as they tendered their own preservation, to make a speedy provision for the settlement of the government, and the security of the common cause, in which the officers of the army were as much concerned as any persons whatsoever. We desired them to consider well of how great importance it was to the people of England to preserve a good correspondence between the Parliament and the army at this time, when the common enemy had no hopes left but in our divisions; that they would not gratify their enemies, nor discourage their friends, by entertaining groundless suspicions and jealousies of those whose interest was the same with theirs. But notwithstanding all that could be said, the dissatisfaction of the chief officers, who had another game to play, still remained, and their confidence to carry all before them was so great, that Col. Desborough openly said, that he accounted the commission he had already to be as good as any the Parliament could give, and that he would not take another. Yet for all this ruffling insolence of the chief officers of the army, who thought they could have influenced all the rest, Col. Hacker with the officers of his
June 8. regiment came the next morning by the perswasion of Sir Arthur Haslerig, to the Parliament House, and received

[1] On June 6 a vote was passed, 'that the continuance of this Parliament shall not exceed the seventh day of May 1660.' C. J. vii. 673.

their commissions from the Speaker according to the directions of the act. The next day I was attended by the officers of my regiment, and we altogether received our commissions in the same manner. The ice being thus broke by Col. Hacker and me, the rest of the officers began to consider better of the matter, and divers of them growing more moderate, came also, and took out their commissions. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood received three commissions, whereof one was for a regiment of horse, another for a regiment of foot, and the third appointing him to be Commander-in-Chief, with the limitations above mentioned, and a clause requiring him to obey such orders as he should receive from the Parliament, or the Council of State. 1659 June 9. June 9.

Mr. Richard Cromwel not removing from Whitehal, tho he received a message to that end, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scot and I, according to the command we had from the Parliament, attended him there, and received for answer that he would do it with all convenient speed. But the Parliament being impatient of his delays, sent the Chief Justice St. Johns, and another person to require him to give them a positive answer touching his removal, which he did to their satisfaction, declaring his acquiescence in the providence of God, and his resolution, not only to submit to the authority of the Parliament, but also to use the best of his endeavours to perswade all those in whom he had any interest to do so likewise. The Parliament having received his answer, ordered 2000 pounds to be presently paid to him to enable him to remove, and passed a resolution to pay those debts, which it was said he had contracted on the public account. May 16. May 25.

The army in Ireland being informed that the Parliament was returned to the exercise of their authority, sent over commissioners to them to propose divers things relating as well to the civil as military government of that nation. The Council of State having heard their propositions, prepared such of them as they thought reasonable for the

1659 consideration of the Parliament, in particular those concerning the establishment of the army in the possession of those lands which had been assigned them in paiment of their arrears; as also to confirm the adventurers and others in the possession of theirs, as far as might consist with the rules of justice. Then the Parliament proceeded to put the June 7. administration of affairs there into such hands as they could best confide in, declaring the government should be again managed by commissioners, as it had been formerly[1], and having nominated the persons to serve in that imployment, they ordered the Council of State to draw up instructions for them, and to report them to the House, together with whatsoever else they should think necessary to be done June 7. there. They resolved that Col. Henry Cromwel should be required to come over to give an account of the state of things in Ireland, and empowered the Commissioners, or any two of them, to take care of the safety of that nation till farther order.

The Committee of Safety having dispatched a messenger to our fleet in the Sound before the election of the Council of State, to acquaint them with the restitution of the Parliament, the officers of the several ships assembled, and sent an acknowledgment of their authority, with all possible demonstrations of satisfaction. Notwithstanding which, being highly sensible of how great importance the sea- June 1. affairs are to this nation, we ordered six frigats to be equipped with all diligence, and gave the command of them May 26. to Lawson, making him at the same time Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. And this we did as well to prevent an invasion from Flanders, with which the Cavalier party threatned us, as to balance the power of Montague's party, who we knew was no friend to the Commonwealth. We treated also with Myn Heer Nieuport, Ambassador from the States

[1] On June 7 the Parliament resolved that the government of Ireland should be intrusted to five commissioners. John Jones, William Steele, and Robert Goodwyn were at once appointed, and the nomination of William Basill and Miles Corbet negatived. On June 9 however Miles Corbet and Matthew Thomlinson were added to the other three. C. J. vii. 674, 678.

of Holland, that a good correspondence might be maintained between the two Commonwealths, and that an accord might be made between the two Kings of Denmark and Sweden, who were then enemies, by the interposition of the two states, who agreeing upon equitable terms, might be able to impose them on the refuser. And this we were in hopes to accomplish the rather, because neither the Dutch nor we pretended to any more than a freedom of passing and repassing the Sound, which could not well be, if the command of it were in the hands of either of those princes. The Dutch Ambassador seemed very desirous to finish the treaty, but by several demands which he made in the behalf of their merchants, delay'd it so long, that our agent in Holland had already concluded an agreement with the States, whereby the two Commonwealths became engaged to compel that King that should refuse to accept of the conditions which they thought just and reasonable. In order to put this resolution in execution, the States of Holland appointed their plenipotentiaries, and we on our part did the same, sending thither Col. Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honywood, and one Mr. Boon a merchant, to that end. The Parliament having taken some measure of care of foreign affairs, began to make provision for the better execution of justice in England, and established judges in the Upper Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer; but designing the reformation of the practice of the Law, they for the present nominated no more than were sufficient to make a quorum in each court. The Lord President Bradshaw, Serjeant Fountain, and Serjeant Tyrrell, were made Commissioners of the Broad Seal. And that the Justices of the Peace througout England might be fitly qualified for that employment, the House referred to the Committee of Nominations for civil offices, the consideration of that matter; but finding this work to be full of difficulty, and attended with much envy, the Parliament ordered the members for each county to agree on a list of such persons as they should think most proper for that office, and to set their hands to each list. And in case of

1659

June 9.

June 3.

June 16.

1659 any difference of opinion, the House, upon hearing both parties, determined the matter. Col. Zanchey, Col. Laurence, Mr. Auditor Roberts, and Major Wallis, by the advice of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, drew up a list of officers for the army in Ireland, and presented it to the Committee of Nominations[1], and agreed to make it their request that I might be appointed Commander-in-Chief of those forces; whether from an opinion that I should thereby be rendred less able to oppose their designs, than by continuing my attendance in Parliament, or that none of their Grandees could be spared from their cabals at Wallingford-house, is uncertain. But true it is, that no man was less desirous than my self, that I should have that command, well knowing the envy and difficulties that accompanied it, and having ample experience how much easier it was to undertake great employments, than duly to perform the functions of them. Yet finding the officers of Ireland, the Committee of Nominations, the Council of State, and
July 4. the Parliament[2] all concurring to design me for that post, I thought my self obliged in duty to accept it: tho I was resolved not to suffer my self to be banished thither, as I had been formerly by Oliver Cromwel, but to return to England as soon as I should have done what might be necessary for the security of that country, to contribute my endeavours towards the settlement of a just and equitable constitution of government at home, and to prevent those mischiefs which I perceived the ambition of the army to be bringing upon us. Having opened my self freely concerning these particulars to Sir Henry Vane, it was obtained, that the Parliament after they had voted me to be Com-

[1] The list referred to is doubtless that printed in Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1659-60, p. 12; cf. ib. pp. 2, 29.

[2] On July 2 Haselrig reported to Parliament that the Committee of Safety had recommended Ludlow to command in Ireland. On July 4 Parliament passed a resolution appointing him. He received his commission from the Speaker on the afternoon of July 9, and it was at the same time resolved 'that after Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow hath put the affairs of the army in Ireland in good order, the said Lieut.-Gen. have liberty to come over into England, and settle his private affairs here.' C. J. vii. 702, 703, 710. Cf. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1658 9, pp. 389, 393.

mander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland, passed likewise an order, that when I had put the affairs of that country into a posture of security, I should have liberty to return to England. It was my design at the next sitting of the Committee of Nominations to move them to propose that Sir Henry Vane might succeed me as colonel of that regiment which the Parliament had entrusted me with, that he might thereby be enabled to discover and prevent the ill designs of the army. But the Presbyterian party in the House, immediately after the Parliament had appointed me for the service of Ireland, moved that Col. Herbert Morley might be made colonel of my regiment, and carried it[1]. Divers officers who had faithfully served the Commonwealth, and amongst them Col. Rich, were restored to their commands, tho not without difficulty: and that Major-General Lambert might be altogether inexcusable if he should act against the Parliament, they granted him a regiment of horse and one of foot. Then they gave order for raising a troop of horse for their own guard, and gave the command of it to Col. Alured, who had been a great sufferer on the account of the Commonwealth, and very active for the restitution of the Parliament[2]. The troop consisted of about one hundred and thirty chosen men, nominated by the committee, and approved by the House. Col. Alured scrupled to accept it, thinking it not equivalent to a regiment of horse which he had commanded,

1659 July 9.

July 9.

[1] On July 7 Parliament ordered the Commissioners for the nomination of officers to take care that Col. Herbert Morley be made colonel of a regiment in the army, and on July 9 Parliament appointed him colonel of 'the regiment that is now void' C. J. vii. 707, 708.

[2] On June 9, 1659, a committee was appointed to hear the petition of Col. Matthew Alured, and on June 10 Parliament, after hearing its report, pronounced the sentence against Alured unjust, and ordered his restoration to his command. On July 4 it was ordered by Parliament that Alured should be colonel of the regiment of foot late Col. Ludlow's, but on the 9th he was appointed captain of the Life Guard to the Parliament, with the pay of a colonel of horse, until a regiment of horse could be provided for him. A list of the Life Guard is given C. J. vii. 709. On Aug. 6, Major Arthur Evelyn became commander of the Life Guard, Alured having been appointed on Aug. 5 colonel of a regiment of horse in place of Whalley. C. J. vii. 678, 702, 708, 749.

1659 tho the pay was appointed to be the same. Being in this disposition, he came to me, and having proposed his doubts, I took the liberty to inform him, as well as I could, of the honour and usefulness of that employment; and having assured him that if it were offered to me, the circumstances of my affairs permitting, I would prefer it before any other command, he was contented to accept it. Our treasury was so low, through the male-administration of the late governments, that tho our plenipotentiaries to the two northern crowns had received their instructions, yet they were obliged to stay a fortnight longer before they could receive the sum of two thousand pounds which had been ordered for the expences of their voyage, the taxes coming in but slowly, and the city of London, terrified with the reports of an expected insurrection, being very backward in advancing money. Yet considering the great importance of the town of Dunkirk to the trade and navigation of England, the Parliament took the first occasion they could to send one month's pay for the garison there, to Col. Lockhart governour of that place, with instructions to go on with the fortifications, and to have a vigilant eye as well upon the French as the Spaniard. They ordered him to draw the regiments that had been lent to the King of France as near to the town as he could, being under some fears that they might be either detained by the French, or obstructed in their return by the Spanish forces[1]. And having received information that the treaty between those two nations went prosperously on, they gave him commission,
July 4. when he had provided for the security of Dunkirk, to go to the French court as agent from the Parliament; and if he found encouragement from Cardinal Mazarin, to take upon him the title and character of ambassador, and then to

[1] On July 19, Capts. Manning, Scot, and Richardson presented the petitions of Sir Brice Cochrane and the three regiments late in French service. The petitions of the regiments in Dunkirk, those of Alsop, Lillingston, and Lockhart, were presented on July 27. Lockhart's acquiescence in the change of government had been reported to Parliament on May 18. C. J. vii. 657, 723.

repair to the place where the treaty was carrying on between the two crowns. Col. Lockhart, according to his instructions, having put all things into a good condition at Dunkirk, and drawn the English regiments out of the French quarters, departed for Paris, and being arrived, was very well received by the Cardinal, and from thence went to St. John de Luz, which was the place of the treaty. In the mean time the Parliament being very desirous to restore the trade with Spain to this nation, and being informed from Flanders that the Spanish ministers were willing to come to an accommodation with us, caused divers subjects of Spain, whom Cromwell had made prisoners, to be released, and would not suffer any act of hostility to be used against those of that nation. 1659

The Act of Indemnity had been read twice, and the House was as desirous to dispatch it as their affairs would permit[1]; yet the necessary time spent in the debate and consideration of it was made great use of to incense the army against the Parliament: divers warm motions were made for excepting some persons from the benefit of it, who had gotten great estates by their compliance with the usurpation of Oliver Cromwel, and abetting the advancement of his son, and also to except those who had sold places, and received money for them; but the Chief Justice St. Johns had such an influence upon the House, that he procured a clause to be inserted in the bill to indemnify him for such offices as he had sold in Cromwel's time: which partiality I appeared against so earnestly, that I made him thereby my declared enemy, tho I never had expected any sincere friendship from him, because he knew me to be May 23, 24.

[1] In the declaration of the Council of Officers on Oct 27, they complain, 'Instead of an effectual and full Act of Oblivion (desired in our third proposal . . . .) we found it a long time to hang in suspence, and at last (after divers and earnest importunities to many members of Parliament) an Act of Indempnity came forth so imperfect and ineffectual for the ends expected, as that not only our selves, but divers others were left liable to ruin at their pleasures, and subject to trouble and molestation at law for acts done for the publick service, as well during the time of their former sitting, as under other succeeding governments.' p. 5.

1659 zealous for the regulation of the practice of the law, and himself an obstructer of all endeavours to that end. The
June 11. two commissions of Major-General Lambert being prepared and signed by the Speaker, he attended at the door of the House in order to receive them; and being admitted, he was informed by the Speaker, that the Parliament having a good opinion of his abilities and fidelity, had intrusted him with the command of one regiment of horse and one of foot, for which he then by their order delivered the commissions to him. The Major-General answered, that as his own inclination and interest led him to promote the service of the Parliament, so the obligation they laid on him by so great a trust should doubly excite him to fidelity and obedience to their commands. And I hope he then intended what he promised, though he afterwards proved an instrument of much disorder and confusion amongst us. Mr. Henry Nevil, a person of singular affection to the Commonwealth, moved the House that Lieutenant-General Fleetwood might be made ranger of St. James's Park, and this he did that no occasion of obliging the army might be omitted; which motion was readily consented to by the Parliament: and indeed the Lieutenant-General, had he not been too much influenced by his wife's relations, who pretending that he had injured his brother-in-law by contributing to lay him aside, continually pressed him to irregular proceedings in order to make him some satisfaction, might have proved a person as fit to command the forces in chief, as the Parliament could have chosen: tho I am not able to see how he could have served him better, unless peradventure by not consenting to his advancement to the Protectorship, than to procure him to be removed with so little detriment to himself and reflection on his family; considering how great a trust his father had betrayed, what dishonour he had brought on the nation, what hardships he had put upon many good men, to the hazard of that just cause which had cost so much blood and treasure of the people.

At this time the opinions of men were much divided

concerning a form of government to be established amongst us. The great officers of the army, as I said before, were for a select standing senate to be joined to the representative of the people. Others laboured to have the supream authority to consist of an assembly chosen by the people, and a council of state chosen by that assembly to be vested with the executive power, and accountable to that which should next succeed, at which time the power of the said council should determine. Some were desirous to have a representative of the people constantly sitting, but changed by a perpetual rotation. Others proposed that there might be joined to the popular assembly, a select number of men in the nature of the Lacedemonian Ephori, who should have a negative in things, wherein the essentials of the government should be concerned, such as the exclusion of a single person, touching liberty of conscience, alteration of the constitution, and other things of the last importance to the state. Some were of opinion that it would be most conducing to the publick happiness, if there might be two councils chosen by the people, the one to consist of about three hundred, and to have the power only of debating and proposing laws; the other to be in number about one thousand, and to have the power finally to resolve and determine: every year a third part of each council to go out, and others to be chosen in their places. For my own part, if I may be permitted to declare my opinion, I could willingly have approved either of the two latter propositions, presuming them to be most likely to preserve our just liberties, and to render us a happy people. 1659

Some members of the Council of State proposed at the board, that the Parliament should be moved to appoint twenty of their own number, and ten of the principal officers of the army to consider of a form of government to be reported to the Parliament; and if they should approve it, that then the whole army should be drawn out, and declare their consent to it: which proposition, tho it seemed then to find a general approbation, yet proved

1659 abortive, and the Parliament themselves passed a resolution that on every Wednesday the House should go into a grand committee to consider of that matter.

In the Act of Indemnity a clause had been inserted to restrain the favour of the Parliament in regard of those who under the usurpation had received exorbitant and double salaries, to the great discontent of divers considerable persons, who feared they might be concerned in it[1].

July 13. In particular, Major-General Lambert meeting me the next morning after the Act was passed, most bitterly exclaimed against it, saying amongst other things, that tho there was no security given by the Act to indemnify them for what they had done, yet the Parliament had taken care to make them liable to be questioned for whatsoever they had received. To which I answered, that in my opinion, all the souldiers were indemnified for what they had received, and that if the Parliament should ever make use of that clause, it would only be against those who had enriched themselves by the ruin of the Commonwealth, and had opposed the return of the Parliament to the exercise of their authority; that I perswaded my self he could not think that such a sort of men deserved the favour and consideration of the Parliament equally with those who had contributed towards their restitution. Having said this, Sir Arthur Haslerig joined us, and the conversation continuing on the same subject Sir Arthur affirmed, that the Act was as full and comprehensive as could justly be desired; but the Major-General said that it signified nothing, and that it left them still at mercy. 'You are,' said Sir Arthur, 'only at the mercy of the Parliament, who are your good friends.' 'I know not,' said Lambert, 'why they should not be at our mercy as well as we at theirs.' These words, as they sounded very harsh to my ears, so they did confirm me in the suspicion I had of

[1] The Act of Indemnity was introduced May 23, passed a second reading May 24, and was passed July 12. It was discussed in committee May 28 to July 12, and clogged by many amendments. Cf. Thurloe, vii. 687; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, p. 21.

the design that was then on foot: and tho Sir Arthur Haslerig contented himself only to shake his head, because divers officers were there present; yet meeting me the next morning in the Speaker's chamber, he told me, that if the two regiments had not been already given to Major-General Lambert, he should never have them with his consent. 1659

The order requiring Col. Cromwel to come over from Ireland, and to give an account of affairs there, being signified to him, he retired to a house called the Phenix, belonging to the chief Governour of Ireland, leaving Col. Thomas Long in the Castle of Dublin; whether with an intention of keeping it, I am not assured: but the commissioners suspecting the worst, and being very desirous to be possessed of it, imployed Sir Hardress Waller to surprize the place, who finding the power of Col. Cromwel to decline, and that of the Parliament to increase, was very willing to attempt it; and being ready to enter by a postern into the castle, the place was immediately surrendred to him. Col. Cromwel perceiving it to be to no purpose to stay longer in Ireland, departed for London, and being arrived, acquainted me with the time that he designed to attend the Council of State, and desired me that I would be present; but I could not[1]. For the house of Hampton Court having been ordered to be sold that day, which place I thought very convenient for the retirement of those that were imployed in publick affairs, when they should be indisposed, in the summer-season, I resolved to endeavour to prevent the sale of it, and accordingly procured a motion July 6.

[1] Henry Cromwell's letter resigning the government of Ireland, dated June 15, is printed in Thurloe, vii. 683. Immediately on the news of the restoration of the Long Parliament he sent over three commissioners, Col. Lawrence, Sir William Bury, and Dr. Jones, to represent the desires of the English colony and army (ib. 674). Henry Cromwell was ordered to come to England June 7, announced the arrival of Steele and Corbet and his own immediate departure in a letter of June 22, arrived in London July 4, gave an account of the state of Ireland to the Council of State July 6, and retired to Cambridgeshire July 8. The officers of the Irish army sent over an address to Parliament. Mercurius Politicus, pp. 541, 544, 568, 576, 583.

1659 to be made at the sitting down of the House to that end, which took effect as I desired. For this I was very much blamed by my good friend Sir Henry Vane, as a thing which was contrary to the interest of a Commonwealth: he said that such places might justly be accounted amongst those things that prove temptations to ambitious men, and exceedingly tend to sharpen their appetite to ascend the throne. But for my own part, as I was free from any sinister design in this action, so I was of opinion, that the temptation of soveraign power would prove a far stronger motive to aspire by the sword to gain the scepter, which when once attained, would soon be made use of to force the people to supply the want of such an accommodation.

Oct. 4. Col. Henry Martin moved at the same time that the chappel belonging to Somerset-house might not be sold, because it was the place of meeting for the French church, and this request was also granted; but the House it self was sold for the sum of ten thousand pounds[1]. Then it was moved that Whitehal might be also sold, and it was said that threescore thousand pounds might be had for it, in order to erect new buildings on the ground where it stands, but nothing was done farther in this matter.

And now I began to think it time to hasten my journey to Ireland, where my station was assigned to me for some time; and in order to my departure I received four com-

July 18. missions from the hands of the Speaker, as the Parliament had directed[2]. By the first I was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in Ireland; the second was for a regiment of horse; the third was for a regiment of foot,

[1] On May 16 the Parliament had voted 'that speedy and effectual care be taken for payment of the arrears of the army, and that Whitehall and Somerset House be forthwith exposed to sale and improved to the best advantage of the Commonwealth for and towards the great arrears and pay due to the army.' On Oct. 4 the order made on July 6 for the suspension of the sale of Hampton Court was rescinded, and both that place and Somerset House ordered to be sold. It was on this occasion that the chapel was excepted. C. J. vii. 655, 705, 791.

[2] Ludlow's commissions as commander-in-chief in Ireland, dated July 9, 1659, and as Lieut-Gen. of horse, dated July 12, were in Lord Ashburnham's collection of MSS.; 8th Report Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 6.

and by the fourth I was made Lieutenant-General of the horse. Which last commission being read before the committee of nominations by Sir Arthur Haslerig, who in this whole affair of regulating the army had served the Parliament for secretary without any salary, Col. Desborough desired that it might be explained how far it should extend, suspecting that it might intrench upon the command of the horse in England and Scotland, which some thought he designed for himself. But Sir Arthur Haslerig declined to give him any other answer than that it was well enough. In this commission a clause was inserted, which had been omitted in the other three, because not thought of before, requiring me to obey not only such orders as I should receive from the Parliament and Council of State, but also all such as should be signified to me from time to time from the Commissioners of the Parliament for the affairs of Ireland[1]. This I was so far from disliking, that I procured another order to be made, that the pay of the army should be issued out by the Commissioners, and that no money, except only for contingencies, should be issued out by the Commander-in-Chief. Having prepared myself for my journey, I took leave of the principal officers of the army, and on that occasion most earnestly requested of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Major-General Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Sydenham, Col. Berry and others, that as they valued the good of the publick and their own safety, they would be careful not to violate the authority of the Parliament, who I perswaded my self were more ready to do any thing that might tend to the preservation of our liberties than we were to ask it: and at my parting with Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Henry Nevil, Mr. Scot, Major Saloway, and the rest of my good friends that were members of the Parliament, I took the liberty to beg of them not to put any unnecessary hardships upon those of the army but rather to gratify them in whatsoever 1659

[1] On July 7 a motion that Ludlow himself should be one of the five commissioners for the government of Ireland had been negatived by twenty-six to twenty two votes. C. J. vii. 707.

1659 they could, that if after all the condescensions and favours of the Parliament to them, they should be so unjust and ungrateful to offer violence to the House, they might be left inexcusable in the sight of God and men.

Being on my way to take shipping for Ireland, accompanied by Col. John Jones[1], and being come as far as Whitchurch, one Capt. Whetway of Chester met us there, and informed us of a design to rise in and about that country by the Presbyterian and Cavalier parties in conjunction; who gave out that Sir George Booth, the Earl of Darby, the Lord Cherbury and other persons of quality and estate were concerned with them. We, according to our duty, immediatly gave an account of what we had heard to the Council of State, and desired them to inquire into the matter. Then we proceeded in our journey, and being arrived at Holy-head, we found a small vessel carrying about ten guns, sent thither by the commissioners of the Parliament to transport us to Ireland, they having at that time no ship of greater force on that coast. Here we met my cousin Roger Ludlow, who was then newly landed from Ireland, but finding us ready to set sail, he returned thither with us[2]. At our arrival within the bar of Dublin, we found

[1] A letter from Ludlow and Jones to the Speaker, written from St. Albans and dated July 19, is printed in the Appendix. It concerns the Act for securing the soldiers in the possession of their lands which is mentioned on page 106.

[2] Roger Ludlow, son of Thomas Ludlow of Dinton, baptized March 7, 1590 matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, June 16, 1610. In Nov. 1612 he was admitted a member of the Inner Temple. He was elected in 1629 an assistant of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and in the following spring landed in Massachusetts, and settled at Dorchester, of which he was one of the founders. He was chosen Deputy in 1634. In 1685 he was left out of the magistracy altogether, the reason probably being his passionate and overbearing temper, of which Winthrop records several instances. History of New England, ed. 1853, pp. 74–158. In 1635 Ludlow removed to Connecticut, settling first at Windsor, then removing in 1639 or 1640 to Fairfield. He was one of the commissioners appointed for the government of Connecticut in 1635, was Lieutenant-governor in 1638, and three times Deputy-governor. But his chief claim to fame is that he was entrusted with the drafting of the constitution of Connecticut, and also in 1646 'desired to take some pains in drawing forth a body of laws for the government of this Commonwealth.' This body of laws

Mr. Justice Cook and my brother-in-law attending with 1659
their coaches; by which means we had an opportunity to go that evening to my house at Moncktown. The next morning before I could get out, the Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin came to welcome me into the country, and to pay the usual civilities. And at the Rings-end I found the guard that had formerly attended Col. Cromwel, drawn up by the order of Sir Hardress Waller, with Col. Theophilus Jones in the head of them, all of them expressing their readiness to serve me, and so accompanied me to the city. Being arrived at Dublin, I went immediately to wait on the Commissioners of Parliament who were then sitting, and had been debating touching the manner of their deportment towards me, the result of which they informed me was, that each of them should successively take the chair for one month; that they would desire me to give them my assistance when the affairs of the army would permit; that I should sit with them when they sat as commissioners, in the next place to the chair-man, and that in all other places I should have the precedency. I returned them my thanks for the honour they did me, and earnestly desired to be excused in the last particular, having always declared it to be my opinion, that the military ought to submit to the civil power. But they told me, that since it had been so resolved, they would not permit me to speak any more about it. Then I delivered to them a warrant from the Council of State, authorizing Mr. Blackwel and Mr. Standish the deputy-treasurers for Ireland, to charge by bill

adopted in 1650 was generally known as 'Ludlow's Code.' Disputes, however, whose history is imperfectly known, led Ludlow to determine to leave Connecticut, where he had been for ever disqualified from holding office. At first he announced his intention of sailing for Virginia, but finally abandoned that intention and went to Ireland. On Nov. 3, 1654, the Lord Deputy and Council had appointed Chief Justice Pepys, Miles Corbet, John Cooke, John Reading, William Allen, Roger Ludlow, and Philip Carteret to be commissioners for hearing and determining all claims for forfeited lands in Ireland. Irish Records, $\frac{A}{26}$ 24. 15. His later history is unknown, and a search for his will in Irish repositories has proved fruitless. Lives of Ludlow are given in D. N. B. xxxiv. 262; and in the Magazine for American History for April 1882.

1659 of Exchange or otherwise the treasurers of war in England with thirty thousand pounds for the service of Ireland. Which having done, I went into another room, where the officers of the army were appointed to be, and gave them an account of the return of the Parliament to the exercise of their authority, by whose wisdom and justice so many things had been formerly done for the advantage and glory of the English nation; and by whose care and good oeconomy they themselves had been provided for, in such a manner as had never been practised in later times, nor indeed could reasonably be expected from any other persons than from those, who as they are called the fathers of the country, so they have the tenderness and affection of parents for all those who take care to deserve their kindness and protection. I assured them of their good intentions for the publick happiness, and to them in particular: and that as they were passing an Act to secure to the souldiers the possession of those lands that had been assigned to them for their arrears, so they would take care to cause their armies to be constantly paid for the future: that the Parliament themselves had appointed such officers to be placed over them, as had given demonstration of their affections to the publick in the late times of defection. I also informed them that the Parliament had done me the honour to appoint me to be Commander-in-Chief of their forces in Ireland, as they might more fully understand by the commission it self, which I then ordered to be read in their presence: and that done, I proceeded to tell them, that being sensible of my own imperfections, and the great weight and importance of my present employment, I had neither directly nor indirectly endeavoured to obtain it; but considering that my superiors by virtue of their authority, at the desire of divers officers commissioned by this army, had called me to the exercise of it, I resolved to endeavour faithfully to discharge the duty of my station, and to adventure the utmost hazards for the publick good, wherein I doubted not of their cheerful and ready assistance. The officers seeming well

satisfied with what I had said, I dismissed them for that time. 1659

Soon after my coming to Dublin we received advice by a message from England, of an insurrection against the Parliament under Sir George Booth, and that Chester was seized for the king. Upon which I caused the officers to meet, and taking into our consideration how we might best preserve the peace of Ireland, and prevent the like mischiefs there, we immediately dispatched as many officers as could be spared to their respective charges. And because we were under the greatest apprehensions for the northern parts, where the Scots and other disaffected persons were in great numbers, we sent Major Dean, an active and good officer, to command some troops of horse that were in those parts. We resolved also to send for the Lord Broghil, with Major Warden and Major Pourden, two of his officers, and to require them to give satisfaction touching their acquiescence under the present government. And that I might contribute what I could towards quenching that fire that had broken out in England, having received information in my late journey through part of Wales, that the small garisons of Denbigh, Beaumaris, Carnarvan, and Holyhead, were under-mann'd, I sent over one hundred foot to be distributed amongst them[1]. Which small supply came so seasonably, that it not only prevented the enemy from rising in those parts; but enabled the governours of those forts to send out parties to bring in provisions for the garisons, of which they stood in great need. Col. Edmund Temple being at Chester when the insurrection began in those parts, was seized by the rebels, and carried before Sir George Booth, who finding that he was going to embark for Ireland, permitted him to proceed in his voyage. At his arrival he gave us an account that Col. Croxton who was governour of Chester finding it in vain to endeavour to keep the town, had made use of the time he had to

[1] On August 6, 100 foot were ordered to Beaumaris by Steele, Corbet and Jones, 'by and with the advice of the General Council of Officers.'

1659 provide all things necessary to maintain the castle till relief could be sent. He acquainted us also, that three or four hundred of the enemies horse had marched into the town of Chester; that Sir George Booth was their Commander-in-chief, and that the principal persons that had engaged with them were, the Earl of Darby, the Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee of Lime House, and Capt. Morgan. He added, that being asked by Sir George Booth, if he had not heard of any rising in other parts, and having informed him that he had found all quiet on the road from London, Sir George seemed much surprized and discouraged, saying, that other promises had been made to him.

By the next account we received from England, we had notice that a party of horse had appeared in Darbyshire, tho by the vigilance and courage of our friends in that county they were speedily dispersed or taken. We were likewise informed that the Earl of Stamford had been at the head of a party, according to a promise he had made to Sir George Booth; but finding them not considerable, he had either surrendred himself, or been seized without any opposition. In Staffordshire, from whence the enemy expected great assistance, their designs were prevented by the diligence of Col. Crompton and Capt. Bathurst, who had secured the principal persons that were suspected in that county. Col. Massey was seized at a gentleman's house in Glocestershire, with some ammunition; and by that means their designs in the West were disappointed. And tho there appeared about threescore horse with one Basset near Bathe, and about the same number near Malmsbury; yet wanting the colonel to head them, and being informed of the march of the county troop against them, they dispersed themselves. Some of these, with others from the borders of Hampshire, went and joined the body that was commanded by Sir George Booth. Sir Thomas Middleton, who had made me a visit when I was going to Ireland, and had assured me of his resolution to continue stedfast in the interest of the Commonwealth, did, either through dotage, being almost fourscore years of age,

or through the importunity of others, or the natural depravity of his own heart, appear at the head of the Cavalier party at Wrexham, and there waving his sword about his head, caused Charles Stuart to be proclaimed King in the market-place. Which encouraged the enemy so much, that they immediately sent out a party to possess themselves of Shrewsbury; but tho the male-contents were very numerous in that town, and ready to join with them, yet Capt. Waring with the militia troop, in conjunction with many well-affected persons that went to him from Wrexham, and some others which he got together on a sudden, prevented their design, and secured that place for the Parliament. This was a great disappointment to the enemy, not only because it kept their friends in those parts from rising, but in a great measure obstructed their correspondence with the western counties. However it being reported that Coventry had declared for them, they received fresh incouragement, and hoped that it might prove an occasion to divert the London forces from advancing towards them, and were not without expectations of a party to appear for them in or about London. Neither were their hopes in this particular without foundation: for the Presbyterian party did so greatly favour this abominable design, wherein the whole Popish party was likewise engaged, that many of them, tho they could not be drawn to join in the dangerous part of acting against the Parliament, yet openly denied their assistance to suppress the enemy. Of this sort was Col. Fotherby who commanded the forces in the county of Warwick, and had faithfully served the Parliament to this time, yet now refused to act for them. So that the old Colonel Purefoy, who had one foot in the grave, was obliged to undertake that employment in those parts, wherein he used such diligence, and succeeded so well, that he kept the city of Coventry and the adjacent country in the obedience of the Parliament. And tho the contagion had infected many within the city of London, yet the vigilance and diligence of the Parliament prevented it from manifesting it self in an

1659

1659 open revolt, by a timely seizing or frighting away such as were most dangerous to the publick peace. The messenger
July 30. that had been sent to Ireland from the Council of State, brought orders to me for one thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be sent to their assistance in England[1]. And tho, considering the posture of our affairs, the suspicion we had of the Scots, the number of the Irish, and that spirit of revenge they were possessed with, together with the condition of our own forces, who had been debauching for some years from the interest of the Commonwealth, we seemed rather to stand in need of relief from England, than to be in a capacity of sending any thither, yet having received such orders from our superiours, we thought it our duty to obey them. And therefore by the advice of the field-officers, it was resolved to draw together those forces that lay most convenient for transportation; and that the publick service might not suffer by any delay that could be avoided, the Commissioners of Parliament caused an embargo to be laid upon all the
Aug. 6. vessels then in the harbour[2]. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood having in a letter to me desired that Col. Zanchey might command the forces to be sent from Ireland, I readily consented to it, having no suspicion of any design concealed under that request; and being informed by Col. Axtel that he also had some important affairs in England, which he had left unsettled, I appointed him to command the foot. Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, Major Rawlins, Major Bolton, and Major Godfrey, were the rest of the field-officers. I ordered that the party to be transported to England should be drawn to Dublin; and as soon as

[1] On July 30, Ludlow was ordered to send over 1,000 foot and 500 horse. He was to land them near Chester, at Liverpool or Beaumaris. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, pp. 54, 73, 90. They landed before Aug. 20 (Mercurius Politicus, p. 674), and took part in the recapture of Chirk. On Sept. 3 they were ordered to return to Ireland, and were voted on Sept. 8, £1,800, in part payment of their services. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, pp. 168, 179, 180.

[2] The order imposing the embargo was made on Aug. 6. It was to be in force for seven days. It was taken off by order of Aug 16.

a considerable number of them were arrived there, orders were dispatched for their transportation, on assurance that the speedy landing of our forces from Ireland would tend to the discouragement of our enemies, and great encouragement of our friends. Having drawn the first party, which was to be imbarked, to the water-side, consisting of about four hundred, we caused two months' pay to be advanced to them, one to enable them to pay their debts in Ireland, the other was put into the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, who commanded them, to be delivered to them as soon as they should arrive in England. The officers and souldiers undertook the service with all imaginable cheerfulness; and one of the vessels that was appointed to carry Capt. Jacomb and his company not being able to approach so near the shoar as to make it convenient for the souldiers to imbark, the captain put himself into the water, which his men seeing, they soon followed his example, and all together, with the sea almost up to the shoulders, marched through to the ship. They had a very favourable passage, and landed seasonably in England: for it happened that the third day after their arrival Lieutenant-Colonel Walker took up his quarters at a town in Carnarvanshire, where many disaffected gentlemen and others of those parts had appointed to rendezvouz the next day; but fearing he might ruin the country, if they appeared in arms, they quitted their design, and kept themselves at home. 1659

The Parliament, tho they had resolved to send some forces against Sir George Booth, yet they were doubtful to whom they should commit that province. And whilst that matter was under their consideration, some persons of the King's party addressed themselves to the wife of Col. Lambert, endeavouring to perswade her to solicite her husband to be the instrument of the King's return, with large offers of whatsoever terms he would demand. She acquainted the colonel with their propositions; but he having resolved to play another part, discovered the whole intrigue to Sir Henry Vane, who having communicated it

1659 to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and knowing there had been some late differences between the colonel and Sir Arthur, he perswaded them to renew their former friendship, with promises on each part to unite their endeavours in the service of the Parliament. By this means chiefly it was
Aug. 5. that Col. Lambert was soon after appointed to command those forces that were designed to suppress the insurrection in Cheshire[1]. In this conjuncture the Parliament sent an order to Col. Monk, who then commanded their forces in Scotland, to send them two regiments of foot and two of horse; but he excused himself, under colour of the enemies strength and inclination to revolt, tho there were not wanting some who then thought that his engagements with the common enemy were the true reasons of that refusal. And it is certain, that a gentleman from the King had been with him; and tho what passed between them was not made publick, yet since he did not seize him, as it was his duty, but permitted him to return safely from whence he came, he may justly be suspected even then to have betrayed those whom he pretended to serve. The second party I sent for England was commanded by Col. Axtel; and the third by Col. Zanchey, to whom I gave also a commission to command the whole brigade of horse and foot, requiring him to take all advantages against the enemy, to relieve our friends, and to obey all such orders as he should from time to time receive from the Parliament, the Council of State, Col. Lambert, or me. Thus the whole number of the forces demanded by the Parliament was shipped off within ten days after I had received their order, tho some of them were quartered at a great distance from Dublin; and both horse and foot landed very seasonably in England, tho not without a sad loss. For the

[1] See Cal. S. P., Dom., 1859-60, p. 75. Lambert started on Aug. 6 with three regiments of horse, one of dragoons, three of foot, and a train of artillery. On August 10 he was at Coventry, on Aug. 15 at Nantwich, on Aug. 18 he advanced to Weeverham. A royalist account of Booth's defeat is printed in Carte's Original Letters, ii. 194. Lambert's letters on his victory, and on the subsequent capture of Chirk castle, are in Mercurius Politicus, pp. 681, 689.

ship wherein Major Bolton and Major Rawlins, with above thirty private souldiers, had embarked, sprung a leak in her passage, and sunk down [1]. The Irish Brigade being joined and arrived at Chester, they sent to Col. Croxton, to let him know, that if he should be driven to extremity before any relief should come to him from London, they had resolved to attempt it themselves. 1659

On the 6th of August, 1659, Col. Lambert at the head of three regiments of horse, one of dragoons, and three regiments of foot, marched from London against Sir George Booth and his party, who were about four thousand in number. The enemy had possessed themselves of the town of Warrington, and had placed a party of about three hundred to defend it, having lodged their main body on the other side of the river, and posted a good number of men to keep the bridg against ours. At this place the Aug. 19. forces on each side met, and the enemy began the action, by sending out a party to skirmish with an advanced party of Col. Lambert. But being repulsed, and retreating beyond the bridg, their body of horse consisting of about seventeen or eighteen hundred, one half whereof they reported to be gentlemen, began to run before our horse could come up to charge them, leaving their foot to be cut in pieces, except only about thirty or forty of their horse commanded by Capt. Morgan, who endeavouring to secure their retreat, was killed in the action. Many of their foot escaped by leaping over the hedges, and hiding themselves. But their surest protection was their having engaged against those that were more ready to save than destroy them. So that tho the whole force of the enemy was entirely defeated, yet there were not above forty of them killed. About six or seven hundred of their horse in scattered and

[1] On Sept. 9, Parliament ordered payment of the debts due by the state to Majors Bolton, Rawlins, and other soldiers and officers cast away in coming from Ireland. C. J. vii. 776. Thomas Rawlins was major of Ludlow's regiment, and before that of Cooper's. Major Francis Bolton was of Pritty's regiment of horse. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659–60, pp. 12, 198. A letter from Ludlow on their behalf, dated 14 Sept. 1659, is printed in the Appendix.

1659 broken parties fled to Chester; but not thinking themselves safe there, they went into North Wales, and the town was delivered up to Col. Lambert. Sir George Booth after his defeat put himself into a woman's habit, and with two servants hoped to escape to London, riding behind one of them. The single horseman going before, went to an inn on the road, and, as he had been ordered, bespoke a supper for his mistress, who he said was coming after. The pretended mistress being arrived, either by alighting from the horse, or some other action, raised a suspicion in the master of the house, that there was some mystery under that dress. And thereupon resolving to make a full inquiry into the matter, he got together some of his neighbours to assist him, and with them entred the room where the pretended lady was. But Sir George Booth suspecting their intentions, and being unwilling to put them to the trouble of a farther search, discovered himself. Whereupon they
Aug. 24. took him into their custody, and sent him up to London, where the Parliament committed him prisoner to the Tower. From the sad consideration of these and other unsuccessful attempts, the Cavalier party and those that sided with them began to despair, and to give their cause for lost, unless by divisions amongst our selves we should render our victories useless to us: which fell out sooner than they expected. For the officers of the army, whom nothing would satisfy less than an absolute tyranny over the nation, notwithstanding the solemn engagement they had taken before the Parliament at the time when they received their commissions from the hands of the Speaker, and all their expressions of sorrow for their former apostacy so often repeated in their last declarations; these wretched men, I say, contrary to their faith, and the duties of common honesty, resolved to destroy the Parliament, and in imitation of their late master Oliver to sacrifice the common cause to their insatiable ambition. In order to this, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood moved the House at the time when they had received the account of Sir George Booth's defeat, that they would appoint Col. Lambert to be Major-General

of their army; and this was done upon certain assurance 1659
that Sir Arthur Haslerig and other members would endeavour to obstruct it; whereby they doubted not the colonel would be so far disobliged as to be ready to join with them in their detestable design. And it succeeded according to their expectations: for Sir Arthur Haslerig well knowing that in a free Commonwealth no man ought to be trusted with too great power, and especially such as had made very ill use of it before, prevailed with the Parliament to declare that they would not create any more general officers than those that were so already; which method they took, that they might not seem to put a negative upon him in particular. The Lieutenant-General having attained his end in the first motion, was encouraged to move again, that seeing the House had not thought fit to do as he had proposed, they would be pleased to present the sum of five hundred or a thousand pounds Aug. 23.
to Col. Lambert, as a mark of their favour, to be conferred on him in consideration of his late service. This proposition was most willingly entertained, Sir Arthur Haslerig concurring with those who were for the greater sum, which was paid to him accordingly[1]. But the Parliament's refusal to gratify him with the title before-mentioned, was aggravated to that degree, that he, together with many officers more amongst whom he had an interest, became most implacable enemies to the Parliament. In the mean Aug. 24.
time a committee was sent to examine Sir George Booth in the Tower, touching the design wherein he had been engaged, and the persons that had promised to join with him[2]. He confessed to have received a commission from the King, and that many of the nobility and gentry had

[1] Parliament voted Lambert £1000 to buy him a jewel as a mark of the favour of the Parliament for his signal service. C. J. vii. 766. The failure of the proposal to appoint Lambert Major-General is also mentioned by Bordeaux. Guizot, i. 464.

[2] On the arrest of Sir George Booth see the Publick Intelligencer, Aug. 22–29, p. 681; C. J. vii. 768. On his examinations, C. J. vii. 768, 770, 778, 785; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659–60, pp. 154, 163; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 466.

1659 promised to appear with him, whereof he discovered some, and desired more time to recollect himself concerning others[1]; and upon examination of a boy which brought, as was supposed, a letter from Sir George Booth before his rising to Sir A. A. Cooper, it was found that he dismissed the boy with much civility, in token of consenting to what was done.

During these transactions I had endeavoured as well as I could to dispatch those affairs in Ireland which were intrusted to my care. I had delivered out new commissions to the officers there, and had disposed of several commands that were either vacant by the refusal of some to take the engagement enjoined by the Parliament, or in the hands of persons disaffected to the government. I had furnished the garrisons with provisions and ammunition for three months, and settled a militia in each county as considerable as the army it self, consisting for the most part of men that had experience, and had readily engaged to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth[2]. This work was attended

[1] The latter part of this paragraph is from the suppressed passages printed by Mr. Christie.

[2] On Aug. 29, the Council of State appointed a committee for Irish and Scotch affairs. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659 60, p. 157. On Sept. 5, the committee ordered that 500 barrels of powder should be sent over to Ireland, and that all Irish officers in England should be sent back to their regiments. They also asked that Parliament would authorise the Irish Commissioners to raise a militia amongst the well-affected there, and that a division of the fleet might be sent to guard the Irish seas. The reason given for these measures was 'the dangerous condition of Ireland, by reason of several discontented officers in Ireland lately put out of command, and disaffected English and Scotch there, especially Ulster, and of the multitude of Irish, and in respect of invasions from Spain upon any opportunity,' and 'in regard information is given of an intent to transport some Irish and other foreign forces from St. Sebastian or other parts of Spain.' The letters of the Commissioners from Ireland also set forth 'the great detriment that accrues both to the public revenue and to every man's private concernments for want of Courts of Justice there, by reason whereof no suit nor action can be had in any case where the Commonwealth or any private person is concerned, nor any person now in gaol for murder or other felonies capable of trial, nor any justice of peace, nor sheriff capable to act upon any other foundation than by virtue of the late Act for continuing sheriffs and justices.' Irish S. P., $\frac{A}{29}$ 27. f. 17.

with many difficulties; for I found divers of the officers guilty of habitual immoralities, many of them accustomed to detain the pay of the private souldiers, and most of them debauched in their principles by the late usurpation of the Cromwels. I endeavoured to clear the army of such as were most guilty, and thereby hoped to reform the rest. I also appointed fit persons to inquire into the principles and practices of the private souldiers, as well horse as foot[1], and upon full information dismissed such as appeared incorrigible, and placed others in the room of them, of whom we had better hopes, together with as many of those as we could find who had been cashiered on account of their affection to the Parliament. 1659

Upon the news of our success against Sir George Booth, Col. Lockart our ambassador at the Pyrenean Treaty, began to be courted by the Spaniard, as he had been before by the French; and our plenipotentiaries met with good success in their mediation for an agreement between the two northern crowns; and the Dutch not daring to attempt what they had designed for the King of Denmark, the two kings were in a fair way to a peace, tho the King of Sweden had expressed his discontent, that the two Commonwealths should form conditions to be imposed

[1] 'Whereas it is informed that divers soldiers of the army, especially in the Province of Connaught and County of Clare, have married Irish Papists, contrary to sundry declarations made in that behalf; Ordered that his Excellency the Lieut.-General, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, be hereby desired to give speedy order for a strict inquiry to be made after such of the army, being either English, Scotch, or natives of Ireland within the said province of Connaught and County of Clare, as have since being members of the army, taken Irish Papists to their wives; as also to make the like inquiry after such soldiers as having formerly been Popish Recusants (notwithstanding that they pretend to be Protestants), may justly be suspected to continue Papists. His Excellency is further desired to take such course as he shall think fit for making the like inquiry or inspection into the rest of the army, if any such there be in the other three provinces; to the end that upon due knowledge such proceedings may be had therein as shall be agreeable to the rules and discipline of the army.' 9 Sept., 1659. Irish Records, $\frac{A}{17}$ 17. p. 51. Compare Prendergast, Cromwellian Settlement, pp. 233, 260.

1659 upon crowned heads. But being told by Col. Algernon Sydney, that the friendship of England was not to be obtained on any other terms, he seemed to acquiesce [1]. But to return from my digression.

In the month of September, 1659, a petition came to my hands that had been addressed to the Parliament from the officers of that brigade which was commanded by Col. Lambert, and signed from Darby [2], wherein they aspersed the Parliament for not endeavouring to suppress the late rebellion with such vigour as they ought, for not punishing those who had been engaged in it, and for not rewarding the officers who had defeated the enemy. They pressed for a settlement of the government after their own mode, in a representative of the people, and a select senate. And for the better discovery of their arbitrary designs, they demanded that Lieutenant-General Fleetwood might be made Commander-in-Chief of the army, without any limitation of time; Col. Lambert appointed Major-General, Col. Desborow Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and Col. Monk Major-General of the Foot. To which they added, that no officer of the army should be dismissed from his command, unless by a court martial. Copies of this petition were sent by Col. Zanchey into Ireland, accompanied with letters to desire that it might be communicated to the officers there, and their concurrence procured. Being sensible of the ill effects that might arise from this wicked attempt, if it should succeed according to their hopes, amongst the officers in Ireland, I summoned as many of

[1] See Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 168–172; and Ewald, Life of Algernon Sydney, i. 220; Blencowe's Sydney Papers, p. 163.

[2] This petition is printed by Phillips in his continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 677. It was agreed to on Sept. 16, and laid before Parliament Sept. 22. On Sept. 23 the House voted that some of the matters contained in the petition were 'unseasonable and of dangerous consequence'; and that 'to have any more general officers in the army than are already settled by the Parliament is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth. C. J. vii. 785. Guizot, i. 482. The petition is entitled the 'Humble Petition and Proposals of the Officers under the Command of the Right Honourable the Lord Lambert in the late Northern Expedition.'

them as were quartered near Dublin, to meet there[1]; and being met, I endeavoured to convince them of the deformity and hazard of this design of the army, desiring them to remember how successful they had been whilst they contained themselves within their proper station, and how all their attempts had miscarried when they intermedled with those things that did not belong to them; and that they would not forget how well the army had been paid as long as the Parliament had the management of affairs, and how much they had been in arrears since that time. I shewed them that the Parliament could not fail of coming to a speedy determination touching the settlement of a just and equal government, since they had declared that a period should be put to their sitting in the month of May next following: that the nation would never endure to be governed by the sword: that it was a meer calumny to say, that the Parliament had not contributed their endeavours towards the suppression of the late tumults; for nothing could have been attempted against the enemies but by their orders: that it was manifest they had gratified those that had been instrumental in that service, having freely given the sum of a thousand pounds to Col. Lambert, and two hundred pounds to Lieutenant-Colonel Duckenfield; and that no private souldier, who had been concerned in that action, might remain unrewarded, they had given the personal estate of Sir Thomas Middleton, amounting to about three thousand pounds, to be distributed amongst them. I endeavoured to perswade them, that the commission granted to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood was as full and ample as could justly be desired, he 1659

[1] From this point Ludlow is endeavouring to vindicate himself from the charge of complicity with the army in their action against the Parliament. His statements should be compared with those made in the articles of impeachment, presented against him in Jan. 1660, and now printed in the Appendix to this volume. Similar charges are made in the letters between Ludlow and Sir Hardress Waller, which are also reprinted. To these are added extracts from a pamphlet in defence of Ludlow, entitled, A Sober Vindication of Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow and others .... By a faithful friend to the Parliament and Commonwealth. 4to, 1660.

1659 being thereby appointed to continue in his command till the Parliament should find cause to the contrary: that if they had refused to make more general officers, it was because they knew it to be unnecessary and dangerous; and that Col. Lambert, without the title of Major-General, had done as good service as if he had been graced with that addition. Then the council of officers entred upon the debate of the heads of the petition from point to point, and after mature deliberation unanimously declared their dislike of it, and their resolutions to acknowledg the supreme authority of the nation to be in the Parliament, and to stand by them in the prosecution of the common cause wherein they had been employed. And because a petition to that effect could not be immediately drawn, I sent away the said resolutions that very day to Sir Arthur Haslerig, with a promise of a farther declaration as soon as possible, resolving not to neglect this opportunity, out of a belief that our proceedings might be of use, as well to incourage our friends, as to discourage our enemies in England. It may be observed that in this conjuncture Col. Monk sent also letters to the Parliament, declaring his resolution not to join in the dangerous counsels of the army; but to keep the officers that were under his command within the rules of modesty and obedience[1].

The army not unmindful of their grand design, perswaded

[1] Monk had been applied to by the officers of Lambert's brigade to join with them in their original petition to Parliament, but had given them no encouragement. When their second petition (that presented on Oct. 5) was being discussed in the council of the army, the minority who opposed it sent a copy to Monk, and urged him to employ his credit with Lambert and Fleetwood to put a stop to it. Monk wrote to Fleetwood making some objections to the terms of the petition, but his letter did not arrive till it was practically agreed upon. At the same time he authorised his brother-in-law Clarges to acquaint some of the leading members 'that if they would assert their own authority, he would march into England, to justify it against any opposition.' On Oct. 5, Parliament had received a letter from him describing the peaceful condition of Scotland and commending the temper of his army, and had sent him a warm letter of thanks. This support greatly encouraged them in their dealings with the English army. Baker's Chronicle, pp. 676-681.

some of their friends in the Parliament to move for an order to continue Alderman Ireton, then Mayor, and one of their confidents, in that office for the next succeeding year. And Parliament seemed at the first inclined to grant their request, having perceived great discontents amongst the citizens of London at the time of the late insurrections: but the spirit of sedition being much allayed since the suppression of the rebels, the City petitioned the Parliament to permit them the enjoyment of their privilege to elect their Mayor, promising to employ that favour, and all that they had, for their service. Whereupon they were permitted to proceed in that affair according to custom; and Sir Thomas Allen, a man of a moderate spirit, being chosen, they invited the Parliament and chief officers of the army to a splendid entertainment at dinner. 1659 Sept. 2. Sept. 28. Oct. 1. Oct. 6.

By this time I had almost compleated a list for new modelling the army in Ireland, in order to be presented to the Committee of Nominations; and thinking it necessary, before my departure for England, to remove such persons as gave the greatest cause of suspicion, I filled their places with those, in whom I might best confide, and who had given evident proof of their affection to the publick. There remained another business of the greatest importance, and wherein I found it difficult to come to a resolution, and that was to appoint a person to command the forces in Ireland in my absence. My inclinations led me to lodg that power with the Commissioners of the Parliament: but Lieutenant-General Fleetwood pressed me so earnestly against it, that I was prevailed with to lay aside that thought. 'Tis probable that the Lieutenant-General was unwilling to have it discovered that such an office might be managed by more than one, lest it should tend to the diminution of his own power, he being Commander-in-Chief of the forces in England and Scotland. But the Parliament having made no distinction amongst the colonels by any superiour titles, I was much embarrassed how to proceed. Col. Zanchy was the eldest colonel, and most earnestly desired the imployment: but when I considered his carriage

1659 in the contriving, abetting and promoting that base petition lately sent from Darby by the officers of the army to the Parliament, as I mentioned before, I could not think him to be a man proper for so great a trust. Sir Hardress Waller had been Major-General of the foot, one of the late King's judges, and of good ability and experience in war: but he having complied with every party that had been uppermost, and especially having not yet received the Parliament's confirmation for the regiment he commanded, I durst by no means entrust him with the command of the intire forces [1]. After much deliberation, I resolved, as the

[1] Waller's conduct had exposed him to the suspicion of too great attachment to Cromwell and his family, from which he was anxious to vindicate himself. On June 22, 1659, he wrote to the Speaker, complaining of misrepresentations and protesting his faithfulness to the Parliament. 'I can appeal to the experience of my actings in their service, both in England my native country, where I remayned in their service untill I was by this present Parlyament commanded into Ireland in '49; that I have passed through the greatest of their shakings and tryalls, and espetially that most peculiar test of all others of owneing and adhearing to that good ould cause past retreat, for which I have been posted up for destruction, and my eldest son assassinated abroad, though through mercy preserved; that when I left England, which is nowe neere seaven yeers since, I left this Parlyament sitting, having before my comming receaved from them the highest marke of justice, honour and bounty, that ever I receaved from men, and what high disobligations I have receaved since their interruption I take noe pleasure to relate, and I wish it were not notorious to the world; soe that if the arguments of principles, interest, or affection may be pleaded, I presume my case coms fully within them all, and what my actings have been in my present station since the restoring of this Parlyament I appeale to God and good men, it being not donn in a corner. If it should be imputed as a cryme that I continued my imployment, and did not dissert this nation, to that I must say [I] did not apprehend any such call, it being the place where Providence had cast me and there only [af]foording me a support and lyvelyhood for soe numerous a family, besides my continuance heere was not thought unusefull by the advice of godly persons, who I presume wilbe credited therin past exception; and allthough I cannot easily bringe myselfe to expresse these thinges in my owne case, yet least sylence should betray my innocencye, I have been imbouldened heerunto, desireing noe other judges on this syde Heaven for my actings then a Parlyament, to whom I appeale and petition for that liberty to come and answear for myselfe before any thinge of disrepute or prejudice be cast uppon me.' Tanner MSS. li. f. 87.

best expedient I could find, to nominate Col. John Jones 1659
to command the forces of Ireland in my absence ; he being a Member of Parliament, one of the late King's judges, and one of the Commissioners of Parliament for the administration of the Civil Government in Ireland: by virtue of which qualifications I hoped he might be approved by the Parliament, acceptable to the officers of the army, and stedfast in the defence of the common cause. Having taken this resolution, and being willing to keep a good correspondence with the army in England, I informed Lieutenant-General Fleetwood with my intentions, desiring that if he approved my choice, he would procure the Parliament to be moved to give their approbation. But he having, it seems, cast off his respect to the Parliament returned me in answer, that I was sufficiently authorized by my commission to constitute one to command in chief during my absence ; and that I had made, in his opinion, a very good choice. All this while I had not acquainted Col. Jones with my resolution touching him, nor intended to do it till the time of my departure drew near, and till I had prepared the officers of the army to give him their assistance in the execution of his charge. To this end I discoursed with Sir Hardress Waller, and freely told him the reasons why I had not appointed him to command in chief, assuring him that I had committed that imployment to one of the Commissioners of the Parliament in a great measure out of respect to him, that I might not be obliged to lodg it with Col. Zanchey, who tho he was a younger officer, yet being the first that was commissionated by the Parliament, expected it of course. Sir Hardress seemed well satisfied with what I had said, and promised his hearty assistance to Col. Jones. There was no necessity to labour so much to give satisfaction to Sir Charles Coote in this particular: for he seemed to aim at nothing more than to keep his government in Connaught, of which province he was President by Act of Parliament, and to have his regiment of foot and troop of horse continued to him. I assured him of my endeavours that all those things might be confirmed

1659 to him by the Parliament, in hopes that he would imploy them in the defence and preservation of that authority, under which he had done so many services, and from whom he had received so many marks of favour. This he promised to do, and added, that he was fully convinced that his interest was wholly involved in the preservation of the Parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had opposed the late King in his arbitrary designs, so he would continue to act in conformity to those actions, well knowing that if the son should happen to prevail, the English interest would be lost in Ireland, and the Irish restored to the possession of their lands, according to an agreement passed between them. So having given me these assurances, he took his leave, in order to return to his government.

The petition before-mentioned that had been agreed on
Sept. 16. by the officers of the army at Darby, coming to the knowledg of the Parliament, with the endeavours that were used to procure subscriptions to it; some, who knew it to be a contrivance of Col. Lambert, moved that he might be sent to the Tower: and it had been well, either that the motion had better succeeded, or that it had never been
Sept. 23. made[1]. But it ended only in passing a vote to disapprove the petition and the proceedings thereupon, and to require Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to send letters to all parts to obstruct any farther progress therein. One of the said letters was sent to Ireland, which in effect was answered before it came, we having drawn up a petition in consequence of our vote, which I mentioned before; wherein, after we had asserted our cause, desired a just and equal magistracy, and the reformation of such things as should be found amiss in Church and State, we assured the Parliament of our readiness to lay down our lives in their service, and in the prosecution of those great ends. This affair being dispatched, Col. Lawrence, whom I am perswaded

[1] Bordeaux confirms the statement that it was suggested that Lambert should be sent to the Tower. Guizot, Richard Cromwell, i. 479, 483.

was accessory to the design carried on at Wallingford 1659
House, suspecting that whilst I staid in Ireland, the army there could not be wrought upon by that faction, advised me to hasten my departure, telling me that Ireland being now settled, I might do more good in England, where my assistance might be wanted. I suspected not the sincerity of his counsel, and having divers reasons to move me to it, I prepared my self for my journey, and with much difficulty prevailed with Serjeant Steel, who had supplied the place of Chancellour during the usurpation, to remain in Ireland, tho he earnestly desired to go over with me about some affairs relating to his office: but I thought it might prove too great a discouragement to our friends, if we should both leave them together, and therefore promised him to endeavour that nothing might pass the Parliament relating to the Courts of Justice in Ireland, till he should be heard concerning it. These things done, I acquainted Col. Jones with my resolution, who after some expressions of modesty and gratitude accepted the imployment, and promised to apply himself with all possible fidelity and diligence to the discharge of it. Upon which promise and acceptance, I went to the Commissioners, and desired their approbation. But Col. Thomlinson who was one of them, either from a belief that I had not power to constitute a deputy, or resenting that he was not the person, or at least joined in the commission with Col. Jones, moved the rest of the Commissioners not to intermeddle in that affair, tho without effect. For it was carried against his opinion at the board, and Col. Jones approved, in virtue of a clause in my commission, authorizing me to depute whom I thought fit for leading and conducting the army. In consequence of this they passed an order to confirm my choice, and to require all colonels, lieutenant-colonels and other inferiour officers &c. to yield obedience to him, in the execution of the commission which he had received from me. Then I called a council of officers, and informed them that the Commissioners of Parliament and myself had impowered Col. John Jones, of whose fidelity to the publick, and peculiar affection

1659 to them, they had large experience, to command the army during the time that their service might detain me in England; desiring them to afford him the best of their assistance in the execution of that trust, which they unanimously promised to do. Before my departure, the mayor and aldermen of Dublin having formed the militia of that place, whereof both officers and souldiers had taken the engagement, they were desirous to give some publick expression of their affection to the Commonwealth; and to that end on the day I designed to imbark, they drew their forces into the field, consisting of about twelve hundred foot and one hundred and twenty horse, that I might view them, and report to the Parliament their readiness to serve the publick. Accordingly the Commissioners in their coaches, and I with the officers of the army on horseback, took a view of them, as they were drawn up on the College Green, being all very well equipped, and drawn up in good order, and indeed so exact in the performance of their exercise, that one would have thought them to have been long in the service [1]. Here they repeated their resolutions to serve the cause of God and their country with the utmost of their endeavours, and promised to live and die with us in the assertion of our just rights and liberties. When they had finished their exercise, I took leave of each officer at the head of his respective company, and went that evening to my house at Moncktown, in order to imbark for England. The Commissioners of the Parliament did me the honour to accompany me about half a mile out of town and the officers of the army would have attended me to

[1] On Aug. 8 the Commissioners had given leave for Volunteers to exercise themselves in Dublin, for the following reasons :—'Consideration being had of the humble petition of several well affected persons inhabitants in the City of Dublin.. desiring license to meet weekly at a military ground which they propose to erect in this city at their own charge. Forasmuch as the said proposition evidences a cheerful disposition both to the public welfare of the nation and likewise to the particular security of this place, and that by reviving so commendable an exercise the petitioners may receive all due countenance and encouragement to become exemplary to the other well affected persons and places,' &c. Irish Records, $\frac{A}{17}$ 17. p. 20.

my house. But because it was late, I would not permit 1659
Sir Hardress Waller and the rest of the officers to go further than half way. The next day after I had signed such commissions and orders as I thought necessary, and was ready to go on board, Col. Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, with most of the officers about Dublin, and my good friend Chief Justice Cook, came down to me, and accompanied me to the sea-side, where we took leave of each other with mutual recommendations to the direction and protection of Almighty God. The next day I arrived in the road without the Bay of Beaumaris, and there meeting with some vessels coming from Chester, I inquired of them if the Irish Brigade were yet put to sea for Ireland, having been assured that the Council of State had given orders for their transportation. They informed me that the said brigade had lain long at the waterside, in order to imbark, and had prepared many vessels to that end; but that all the ships were now discharged upon orders received from Col. Zanchey for those forces to march for London. This information gave me occasion to suspect what was soon after confirmed to me, for at my arrival in the bay, which was in the evening, the Governour of Beaumaris and another officer came to me on board, and informed me that the army had offered violence a second time to the Parliament and resumed the power into their hands. This astonishing news put me into a doubt whether I should return to my command in Ireland, or continue my journey to London. On the one hand I considered that those who were under my particular care and conduct being in Ireland, my presence might be necessary amongst them, to excite them to the performance of their duty. On the other side, when I called to mind that I had done as much as I could to secure their service to the Parliament, that I had brought a declaration from them to that purpose, and left the chief command in the hands of a person that had great reasons to move him to be faithful in his charge, I was inclined to go forward in my journey. And when I considered the mischiefs likely to follow upon a breach between the Parliament and army, which I concluded

1659 would inevitably prove the ruin of both ; and that it was not impossible that I might contribute something towards a reconciliation ; in conclusion knowing that in my way I should have an opportunity of conferring with the Irish Brigade, I resolved to continue my journy ; and the next morning as I passed the ferry at Conway, I perceived a person riding post towards us, who coming nearer appeared to be one Col. Barrow, dispatched from the Council of Officers at London, with a message to me and the rest of the officers in Ireland, to give us an account of their proceedings, and what satisfaction they could concerning them [1]. He delivered to me two letters, one from the Council of Officers directed to me, and to be communicated to the army in Ireland : the other from Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to my self. In that from the officers they endeavoured to put the best gloss they could upon their late action, pleading the force of necessity in their excuse, and protesting to improve every opportunity to promote the publick good, with this expression inserted, that they had been necessitated to obstruct the sitting of the Parliament for the present. That from Lieut.-Gen. Fleetwood was much to the same purpose, desiring me to exercise my charity to them, and labouring to clear his own integrity in the late transaction. Col. Barrow also endeavoured to perswade me that the Parliament had on many occasions manifested such a spirit of imposition, as was become intolerable ; that they had designed to ruin their most antient and best friends ; and that the officers had taken the power into their own hands, only to imploy it to the full satisfaction of all honest men. I told him that tho I should be extreamly glad to see it so imployed, yet when I considered how grossly the nation had been formerly abused under the same pretences, I had not the least expectation of it, being well informed that all their discontents had no other foundation than the experience they had that the Parliament would not permit the officers of the army to be their

[1] Col. Barrow was despatched on Oct. 19, returned on Nov. 3, and on Nov. 4 gave an account of his mission to the Council of Officers.

superiors, and the sword to tyrannize over the civil power[1]. 1659
After I had spent about an hour with Col. Barrow in conversation touching this affair, I found no cause to alter my resolution concerning my journy, but was rather confirmed in my opinion, that my endeavours to adjust the differences between the Parliament and army might prove successful; and therefore having perused the letter from the officers at London, which was to be communicated to those in Ireland, I delivered it again to Col. Barrow, with another for Col. Jones, wherein I desired him to take all possible care, that the common enemy might not be able to take advantage from this sad conjuncture to disturb the publick peace. Then I proceeded in my journy towards Chester, and being arrived within three miles of that town, I found the officers of horse belonging to the Irish Brigade, who gave themselves the trouble to wait my coming, and accompanied me to the city, where the foot were drawn up, and had lined the streets to the place where I was to lodg. The next day being Sunday, I staid there, and taking that occasion to speak with the officers of the said brigade, together with Col. Croxton Governour of Chester, I told them freely my thoughts concerning the late precipitate enterprize of the army, and, as I was able, endeavoured to convince them of the imprudence and injustice of it; delivering for my opinion, that the late address, contrived at Darby, had given birth to this unnatural attempt, as it was it self the offspring of pride and ambition: that it was apparent the army had not put this affront upon the Parliament for having omitted the performance of their duty in relation to the publick, but meerly on account of themselves

[1] Ludlow's faithfulness to the Parliament, says his vindicator, was evident. When he first heard of its expulsion by Lambert, at Beaumaris, 'some credible persons that were with him say, that he took on extremely, lookt paler upon it than ever he did when he met with an enemy, that it was dagger news unto him; and at Chester when some desired him to put a favourable construction upon it, as if there were some necessity for it, he said, "It was a necessity of the Devil's making, and that there was no visible means under heaven to save the nations, but by a sudden restitution of the Parliament."' 'A Sober Vindication of Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow.' p. 5.

1659 and their own private interest, having expressed their resentment in the most outragious manner against the Parliament, for not advancing some officers of the army to such powers and titles as had formerly proved fatal to the Government; tho they might have seen by the late success of Col. Lambert, that victory is not entailed upon empty titles. During this conference there was not one word said in excuse of the late horrid act committed by the Wallingford House party, but only by one Capt. Winckworth a creature of Col. Zanchey; all the rest seeming to be convinced of the truth of what I had said, affirming that they had been surprized, and prevailed upon to sign it, without having sufficiently weighed the consequences it might produce. In particular Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, the chief officer then upon the place, assured me, that it being suddenly presented to him with a letter from Col. Zanchey, he had too hastily signed it; but after better consideration, he had resolved to stop the paper at the post-house, which he had done if it had not been dispatched away sooner than he expected.

Whilst I was at Chester there came a messenger from the officers of the army at London with letters for those in Ireland, which he presented to me, as they were directed. Upon the perusal of them I found my former suspicions justified, and that the army would be contented with nothing less than to have the government established in a court-martial. To this end they had agreed that Lieutenant-General Fleetwood should be Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth, Col. Lambert Major-General of the army, Col. Desborow Lieutenant-General of the horse, Col. Monk Major-General of the foot; and that all officers of the army who should by their subscriptions testify their submission to this agreement, should be confirmed in their commands, from thence never to be discharged unless by a court-martial: that all officers to be presented to any command that should be vacant by dismission, death, or otherwise, should be nominated by Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, Major-

General Lambert, Col. Desborow, Col. Berry, my self, or any three of us; and to receive their commissions from Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who also was to grant new ones to those that were already possessed of any military command. We were informed also by this messenger, that the Council of Officers had agreed upon one and twenty persons, with whom they pretended to intrust the administration of all civil affairs, under the title of a Committee of Safety, resolving to obey them so long as they would do what should be prescribed to them. This number, tho filled up with men of almost all parties, yet was so craftily composed, that the balance was sufficiently secured to those of their own faction. The names of the committee were as followeth; Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Major-General Lambert, Col. Desborow, Sir Henry Vane, Major Saloway, the Lord Warriston, Col. Tichburn, Commissioner Whitlock, Col. Berry, Mr. Walter Strickland, Col. Hewetson, Mr. Cornelius Holland, Sir James Harrington, Alderman Ireton, Col. Sydenham, Mr. Serjeant Steel, Mr. Henry Brandriff, Col. Monk, Sir Gilbert Pickering, one person more, and my self[1]. Notwithstanding all this bad news, I resolved to pursue my journey; and having viewed the castle of Chester, exhorted the officers of the Irish Brigade to persist in their resolutions of fidelity to the Parliament, and written to the officers in Ireland to the same purpose, I departed from thence on Monday about noon, the streets being lined with souldiers as at my arrival. The horse accompanied me about three miles on my way, and there I found another troop waiting to attend me to Whitchurch, where I lay that night. But the next morning having permitted them to accompany me about a mile from the town, I dismissed them with thanks for their affection, and extreamly pleased to be freed from such ceremonies, admiring

1659

Oct. 26.

[1] A list of the twenty-three persons selected to form a committee of safety is given in the 'True Narrative' p. 41. It omits the name of Monk and adds those of Lords Lawrence and Strickland, Cols. Lilburn, Clark and Bennet, and Mr. Robert Thomson. Whitelock prints the form of summons sent him. Memorials, iv. 367; Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 3. The first meeting of the Committee was Oct. 28.

1659 how it should come to pass that so many men delight in numerous and magnificent trains, which, besides the trouble it puts others to, must necessarily render those for whose service they are designed, less useful and easy to themselves. At Coventry I found some of the forces that had been in the service of the King of France, and lately brought to England by order of the Parliament, upon the insurrection of Sir George Booth's party. I discoursed with the officers concerning their duty in this conjuncture, and exhorted them to continue stedfast in their obedience to the Parliament, which they promised to do. The next night I lay at Northampton, and was informed by some passengers who came from London, that Col. Monk had declared against the late proceedings of the army. Which news was so welcome that I could not give intire credit to it, till it was confirmed to me the next night at Dunstable, and the day after by my wife, who came to meet me at St. Albans.

Oct. 29. Being arrived at London, I went to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who endeavoured to perswade me to go in to a council of officers that was then assembled at Wallingford House, to consider of letters brought from Col. Monk[1]. I desired to be excused from intermedling in their consultations, being very ill satisfied with their proceedings, accounting them to be founded upon a selfish bottom, and therefore not likely to produce any good to the publick. He requested me to put a charitable construction on their actions, making solemn protestations of his own integrity, and adding, that whatsoever opinion I might have conceived of them, I should certainly find that Monk's intentions were neither sincere nor honest. To which I replied, that tho I knew not what designs he might have to carry on, yet it ought to be confessed that his publick declaration had a better appearance than theirs, who demanded nothing

[1] The 'True Narrative' says under Oct. 29, 'this night the council of field-officers met at Wallingford House, by whom it was resolved that several regiments of the army should be speedily sent towards the north, and that the Lord Lambert should command them. . . This day Lieut.-General Ludlow arrived here out of Ireland' (p. 53).

less than a government by the sword. By him and others whom I conversed with, I was fully acquainted with the grounds and causes of this second violence offered to the Parliament[1], which had been designed soon after their restitution, when the grandees of the army perceived they would not be governed by them; and had been more speedily put in execution, if the late tumults of the Cavaliers and Presbyterians had not caused it to be put off till they were suppressed. The Parliament on their part being sensible of their danger, were not wholly negligent of the means to prevent it; tho I cannot say they gave no advantages to the faction of the army, by disgusting the sectarian party, and falling in with the corrupt interests of the lawyers and clergy, wherein the army did not fail to outbid them when they saw their time. But Sir Arthur Haslerig supposing that a conjunction with these men would contribute much to deter the officers from any attempt against the Parliament, closed with them, and thereby dissatisfied many of the Commonwealth-party. Neither did it a little contribute to this disorder, that Sir Arthur, who took upon him to be the principal manager of affairs in Parliament, was a man of a disobliging carriage, sower and morose of temper, liable to be transported with passion, and to whom liberality seemed to be a vice. Yet to do him justice, I must acknowledg, that I am under no manner of doubt concerning the rectitude and sincerity of his intentions. For he made it his business to prevent 1659

[1] The army's own official account of the origin of the quarrel with the Parliament and of the proceedings of the government then set up is: 'A True Narrative of the late proceedings in Parliament, Councell of State, General Councell of the Army and Committee of Safety; from the 22 of Sept. untill this present. With all the orders, ordinance, acts, votes, declarations, letters, etc. which concern the present difference betwixt the Parliament and Army. Faithfully collected for the information of the people. Published by speciall order. 4to, 1659. Printed by John Redmayne.' The 'Declaration of the General Councell of the officers of the army,' Oct. 27, 1659, was their first attempt to vindicate themselves. These are answered in two pamphlets by E. D.: 'A true relation of the state of the case between the ever-honourable Parliament and the officers of the army'; and 'The Declaration of the officers of the army, opened, examined and condemned.'

1659 arbitrary power wheresoever he knew it to be affected, and to keep the sword subservient to the civil magistrate. To this end he had procured many officers to be chosen into the army, with whom he hoped to balance that faction that appeared every day more and more amongst them. He had recommended Col. Fitz to the Parliament for Lieutenant of the Tower, and took care on all occasions to oblige Col. Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland [1]. He presumed upon the fidelity of the fleet and forces in Ireland, on account of the past services of those that commanded them, and their former opposition to the usurpation of Cromwel. He had procured a guard of chosen horse commanded by Major Evelyn, to attend the Parliament, and was assured of Col. Morley's regiment, with those of Col. Hacker, Col. Okey, and some others that lay in or near the town. In the mean time the officers at Wallingford House had not been idle, and accounting it lawful for them to do whatsoever they had power to do, they agreed on that petition which I mentioned before to have been sent from Darby, and privately sent it down thither to be signed and dispersed, and then to be returned to London, as if it had been drawn at Darby, and by no means to be presented to the Parliament, unless it were first approved by Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and signed, at his recommendation, by the officers about London. The Lieutenant-General having received this pernicious paper, being one morning at a committee in the Speaker's chamber before the House was sat, shewed it to Sir Arthur Haslerig, acquainting him how it came to his hands, pretending his dislike of it, and a resolution to put a stop to it. Sir Arthur said not much to him concerning it, either suspecting him to be in the plot, or thinking that if speedy care were not
Sept. 22. taken, it would be past all remedy: and therefore procured

[1] Col. Thomas Fitch was voted Lieutenant of the Tower by Parliament on June 10, and received his commission on June 15; C. J. vii. 679, 685. Col. Fitch had been governor of Inverness and colonel of a regiment in Scotland, which were both now given to Col. Henry Smith, late governor of Hull; Ib. 781.

the Speaker immediately to take the chair, and to send for 1659
the members from the committee into the House. Which being done, he obtained an order for shutting the door, and bringing the keys to the table, alledging that the business which he had to impart to the Parliament required that care. Then he communicated to them the petition it self, which being read, he aggravated the heinousness of the attempt, and moved that Col. Lambert, who commanded that part of the army amongst whom it was said to have had its beginning, might be accused of high treason, and committed to the Tower; and that one Major Creed and Col. Zanchey might also be taken into custody. The major part of the House, finding their very being struck at by this combination, seemed very ready to agree with those who were the most zealous for the suppression of it. But the Lieutenant-General affirming, that, according to the best of his information, the petition had been begun and carried on by the inferiour officers of the brigade, without the knowledg or consent of Col. Lambert: that it was not to have been presented to the Parliament without the approbation of himself, and the rest of the officers about London; and that he had taken a resolution to suppress it; the House inclined to more gentle methods, and contented themselves with passing a vote, to express their dislike Sept. 23.
of the said petition, requiring those of the army to forbear any farther prosecution of it, and commanding Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to issue out his letters to that effect to the several quarters of the army, which he did accordingly. But for all this a Council of Officers was summoned to meet at Wallingford House; and tho it was pretended to be only Sept. 27.
in order to declare their acquiescence in the resolution of the Parliament, yet the officers fell into debates of the utmost rage and madness, Col. Lambert, who was present, sitting still as a person altogether unconcerned, and not reproving them in the least for their excesses. The result of all was, that a committee of the Council of Officers was directed to prepare an address to the Parliament, wherein after the specious promises of obedience they desired that

659 those who should hereafter misinform the House, as had been done in their case, might undergo the censure of the Parliament: that a Commander-in-Chief might be constituted without limitation of time: that no officer might be displaced unless by a court-martial: that the Act of Indemnity might be enlarged: that the revenue of Mr. Richard Cromwel might be augmented, and that his debts might be paid: with other particulars, most of which were as absurd for the army to ask, as for the Parliament to grant.

Oct. 5. However, the Parliament being willing to leave no means unattempted that might give satisfaction to the army, taking hold of that clause in the address wherein they had promised obedience, gave them thanks for their affection expressed therein, and promised to take the particulars of the petition into their speedy and serious consideration, to do therein according to justice, and as far as they could to their

Oct. 5, 10, 11. satisfaction [1]. In pursuance of this promise the Parliament proceeded to the consideration of the several parts of the address, and had made a good progress in it, when Col.

Oct. 12. Okey communicated to them a letter subscribed by Col. Lambert, Col. Desborow, Col. Berry, Col. Clerk, Col. Barrow [2], who were of a committee nominated by the Council of Officers, which had been sent to him to encourage subscriptions to the petition lately read in the House. By which proceeding it was manifest, that they intended the petition to be the ground on which they designed to unite the army against the civil authority. The Parliament

[1] Fleetwood communicated the vote of Sept. 23 to the leading officers on the following day, and they agreed to decline insisting on the Derby petition, and draw up something of a more moderate nature to be presented to the House. For this purpose a council of officers was summoned for Sept 27, which agreed on the 'Humble Representation and Petition of the officers of the army to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,' signed by 230 officers and presented by Major-Gen. Desborough on Oct. 5. Baker, p. 678; The Parliament's Answer to the Armies Proposals, 4to, 1659; Old Parliamentary History, xxi. 460.

[2] Probably identical with the letter printed in Thurloe, vii. 755, dated Oct. 5. It was signed also by Cols. Thomas Kelsey, Richard Ashfield, William Packer, Ralph Cobbet, and Major Richard Creed. See also the 'True Relation,' p. 17.

finding that the ways of compliance which they had 1659
been taking served only to encourage the army to mutiny and rebellion, resolved upon sharper counsels. And to that end, having caused the door of the House to be locked, and fully informed themselves of the matter of fact, they voted the commissions of those who had subscribed the said letter to be void. They voted the commission of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to be void also, and placed by an act the power of Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in England and Scotland in the seven following persons, viz. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Col. Monk, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Col. Walton, Col. Morley, Col. Overton, and me[1]. Then they caused the Speaker to demand of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who was present in the House, if he would submit to this resolution of the Parliament; to which he answered, that he would. They also declared, that no tax should be laid or levied upon the people, unless Oct. 11.
by Act of Parliament, under the penalty due to those that are guilty of high treason. This business, tho carried with as much privacy as it could be, yet came to the notice of the officers without doors, who being surprized at the resolution of the Parliament, and convinced that the least delay might prove dangerous, used all possible diligence in drawing together their party, and preparing themselves for their designed work.

In the mean time the Parliament ordered the regiments Oct. 12.
of Col. Morley and Col. Moss to march forthwith to Westminster for their security, and sent for the rest of the troops that were about the town to draw down to them also with all convenient speed. In pursuance of which order Col. Okey endeavoured to bring down his regiment of horse, but the greatest part of them deserted him[2]. For most of the old

[1] 'The Commandant in Ireland is thought to be a great republican; nevertheless he has been made a member of the Council, and it is thought that, as he is an anabaptist, he will be more easily converted.' Bordeaux to Mazarin; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 272; cf. p. 275.

[2] An excellent account of the events of Oct. 12 and 13 is given in the Weekly Intelligencer for Oct. 11–18. See also the Declaration of the officers of the army of Oct. 27; Carte, Original Letters, ii. 247.

1659 officers whom Cromwel had by his example corrupted with the horrid vices of ambition and treachery, found it easy to delude the inferior officers and private souldiers, who had either utterly forgot their trades, or were unwilling to return to an industrious life, into a compliance with any design, in order to get a living. Col. Lambert was the person that made the first attempt against the Parliament's guard, endeavouring at the head of a party of horse to break in upon that part where Col. Morley was posted with his regiment. But the Colonel advancing, and assuring him, that if he persisted, he would fire upon him, Lambert answered, 'I will then go the other way,' which he did, after he had given order to block up the avenues by the Millbank with carts and other impediments, to prevent the guards of the Parliament from sallying out upon them by that way. The army had also placed a party of theirs in King Street, and in the church-yard near the Abby, some of Col. Morley's regiment having already possessed themselves of the Old Palace Yard. In this posture they
Oct. 13. continued all night. The next morning that guard of the army which lay in the church-yard advanced with one Major Grimes at the head of them towards those of Col. Morley's regiment, who were in the Palace Yard: of which motion the Colonel being informed, drew out those that he had with him, and hastned to their relief. Both parties being come within pistol-shot, and each of them ready to fire, those of the army began to invite Col. Morley's men to go over to them, desiring them to remember that they had hitherto fought together, and that it was unreasonable now to become enemies. In like manner Col. Morley's party endeavoured to perswade those of the army to join with them in the defence of the Parliament, who they said had been always successful in the administration of publick affairs, and to whom the officers of the army had so lately promised obedience, when they received their last commissions: who had always taken effectual care for their constant pay, and who were the only authority that could do so for the future. The chief officers at length interposing,

it was agreed, that both parties should for the present retire 1659
to their former stations. On the other side Col. Lambert being advanced near that party which was commanded by Col. Moss, demanded of them if they would suffer nine of their old officers, who had so often spent their blood for them and with them, to be disgraced and ruined with their families. The Colonel answered, that tho that should be the case, yet it were much better that nine families should be destroyed, than the civil authority of the nation trampled under foot, who designed not the ruin of any, but only to remove from their commands nine officers, who by their seditious carriage had rendred themselves unworthy of that trust. But Col. Lambert's oratory was more prevalent with the person that commanded the Parliament's guard of horse [1], who perceiving that divers of his men had left him and revolted by the treacherous perswasions of one Cathness his lieutenant, dismounted in the head of his troop at the command of Lambert. Some of Col. Moss his regiment went off also, each party using their rhetorick to bring over as many as they could. On the other part some came over to the Parliament's party, and particularly three intire companies of Col. Sydenham's regiment. But at last the army gained their point, and placed guards both by land and water, to hinder the members of Parliament from approaching the House, tho Sir Peter Wentworth being rowed by a crew of able watermen, broke through their guard on the river, and got into the House. In the mean time the Speaker endeavouring to pass in his coach through the guards of the army, was stopped near the gate of the Palace Yard by Lieutenant-Colonel Duckenfield ; and being demanded whither he was going, the Speaker answered, to perform his duty at the House : then turning himself to the souldiers, he told them, that he was their General, and expected their obedience. But these men having resolved to destroy the civil authority, and to set up the sword in the room of it, forced his coachman to drive back, and as he passed by Wallingford House,

[1] Major Arthur Evelyn.

1659 would have compelled him to drive in at the gate, telling the Speaker, that he must go to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood [1]. But the Speaker commanded the coachman to drive home: and having told the officers, that if Lieutenant-General Fleetwood had any business with him, he might come to his house, they desisted from giving him any farther trouble at that time [2].

During those disorders, the Council of State still assembled at the usual place [3]; and at one of their meetings Col. Sydenham, who was one of them, made a speech, wherein he endeavoured to justify these proceedings of the army, undertaking to prove that they were necessitated to make use of this last remedy by a particular call of the

[1] 'I must not forget to tell you that when the soldiers stopped the Speaker in his passage to the House, he asked them, if they knew what they did; that he was their leader and ought to be obeyed by them. To which they answered, that they knew no such thing; that if he had marched before them over Warrington-bridge, they should have known him.' Hyde to Ormonde; Carte, Original Letters, ii. 266.

[2] This *coup d'état* created very little disturbance in London. Mr. Samborne writes to Hyde the day after it: 'What government we shall have next is not yet known, but the people are prepared for any, for in all the hurly burly the streets were full, every one going about their business as if not at all concerned, and when the Parliament sent unto the city to relieve them, they answered they would not meddle with the dispute, but endeavour to preserve the peace of the city.' Clar. S. P. iii. 581.

[3] The Council of State met till Oct. 25; Cal. S. P., Dom., 251-6; 'True Narrative,' p. 41. The scene described probably took place on Oct. 15, the last time Bradshaw was present. On that day the Council ordered 'that those persons who do exercise the chief power and command in the army and all others concerned, be ordered to withdraw the guards about the Parliament-house and Westminster Hall and parts adjacent, to the end the Speaker and members of Parliament may return to the free exercise of the legislative power and their duty.' Sergeant Dendy, who was sent to carry the order, found the stairs leading into the Parliament-house guarded, and 'requiring to speak with their officer, a corporal was called, there being no other present,' who 'made answer they were commanded there by their superior officers, and that they must remain there until they received orders from them to draw off' ('True Narrative,' p. 21). When he delivered the order to the committee of officers they answered 'that they had received the order of council and would take a convenient time to consider of it' (Cal. p. 253). Bradshaw died on Oct. 31, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on Nov. 22. Publick Intelligencer, p. 907; Mercurius Politicus, p. 843. Compare Clarendon S. P. iii. 585.

divine Providence. But the Lord President Bradshaw, 1659
who was then present, tho by long sickness very weak and much extenuated, yet animated by his ardent zeal and constant affection to the common cause, upon hearing those words, stood up and interrupted him, declaring his abhorrence of that detestable action, and telling the council, that being now going to his God, he had not patience to sit there to hear his great name so openly blasphemed; and thereupon departed to his lodgings, and withdrew himself from publick employment. The army having resolved to finish the work, appointed a select number of persons, Oct. 26.
consisting for the most part of themselves and their creatures, to have the administration of civil affairs, calling them, as I said before, 'A Committee of Safety'[1]: and knowing that it was of great importance to secure the forces in Ireland and Scotland to their interest, they dispatched Col. Barrow, formerly mentioned, to Ireland, and Oct. 14.
Col. Cobbet to Scotland, on that design.

The news of this great change being brought to Ireland, was at first received with great sadness and discontent[2]; but after three or four days, when Col. Barrow had given

[1] The Council of Officers at first attempted to come to some agreement with the leaders of the Parliament, but naturally failed. See Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 267, and the proceedings of the Council of officers on Oct. 14. On Oct. 15, they appointed ten persons to 'consider of fit wayes and means to carry on the affairs and government of the Commonwealth,' and on Oct. 26 appointed the Committee of Safety of twenty-three members. 'A True Narrative,' pp. 21, 41.; Guizot, ii. 272.

[2] On receipt of the letters brought by Barrow, the Commissioners of the Parliament in Ireland issued the following order: 'Whereas the General Council of Officers sitting at Whitehall have by an express sent several copies of their agreement, and by their letters bearing date the 19th and 20th instant signified their desire that the said papers should be sent to the several regiments and garrisons in Ireland, to be signed by as many as shall be free to subscribe the same; pursuant thereunto it is thought fit and ordered that it be and is hereby recommended to Col. John Jones, Commander-in-chief of the army and forces in Ireland, who is desired with all convenient speed to communicate the said letters and papers unto such field-officers as are now in Dublin, and having consulted with them how the said business may be transacted according to the directions of the said letter to give such directions accordingly therein as may best advance to the public service. 29 Oct. 1659.' Irish Records, $\frac{A}{17}$ 17, p. 10.

1659 assurances of favour and advancement to divers officers, he easily perswaded many of them that the army would make use of their power to good ends. Yet so much dissatisfaction remained in the major part of them, that the Colonel could not obtain any publick approbation from them of the proceedings of the army in England: only they sent a letter inclosed in one to me, and directed to the Council of Officers at London, advising them to be very circumspect in their actions, lest they should happen to split as formerly upon the rocks of pride and ambition. At the same time I received letters from Sir Hardress Waller, Col. Cooper, and other officers, to inform me, that those who had the management of affairs in Ireland, endeavoured on all occasions to impose upon them, and therefore earnestly desired my presence there. Col. Cobbet had not so good success in Scotland: for Col. Monk, who had another part to play, having secured to himself the fidelity of most of his officers, who had been with him for many years, and by the particular favour of Sir Arthur Haslerig had not been altered by the committee of nomination, seized Col. Cobbet with some officers that he suspected might oppose his designs, and sent them prisoners into one of the islands[1]. After that he declared for the Parliament, and writ three
Oct. 20. letters, whereof the first was directed to the Speaker, the second to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and the third to Col. Lambert[2]. In that to the Speaker he assured him,

[1] Col. Cobbet was despatched on Oct. 19. The letter he was charged to deliver to Monk is printed in the 'True Narrative' (p. 35), with the answer of the Scotch officers which is dated Oct. 27 (p. 38). Captain Johnson whom Monk had sent to secure Berwick detained Cobbet, 'and it was seasonably done. for if he had been permitted to pass, the opinion which was had of him by souldiers, might have much hindered the General's proceedings. He was brought with a guard to Edinburgh Castle and kept there, the General being much incensed against him, upon private advice that he had instructions to have seized him, if he had not agreed to the army's actions in England.' Cobbet's regiment which was then quartered at Glasgow had been made safe by Monk, and its Lieut.-Colonel secured; Baker, pp. 683, 686-7.

[2] The best accounts of Monk's conduct are given in Phillips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle (p. 685), in Gumble's Life of Monk (p. 133), and in Price's Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy-

that he would expose himself and the forces with him to all hazards for the restitution of the Parliament to the exercise of their authority, in obedience to the commission he had received from them. In his letters to the Lieutenant-General and Col. Lambert, he endeavoured to perswade them to use their interest and power to restore the Parliament, declaring his own resolution in that matter. I also received a letter from him, wherein he acquainted me with his intentions touching the Parliament, and desired my assistance therein [1]. 1659

In this confusion of things it was brought about, chiefly by the interest of Sir Henry Vane with Col. Lambert, that the said Sir Henry Vane, Major Saloway, and my self, should meet and confer with Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Col. Lambert, Col. Sydenham, and Col. Desborow, concerning the present condition of affairs. Accordingly we met in one of the council-chambers at Whitehall, where Col. Lambert in the first place demanded of me, if I could give him my hand [2]. I answered, that tho according to my information his part in the late action appeared to me very unwarrantable; yet if it might make me more capable of serving the publick, and recommend my endeavours for the peace of the nation, and the reconciliation of the differences amongst us, I could not only give him my hand but my heart also. Then he laboured to justify his late proceedings, protesting that he had no intention to interrupt the Parliament till the time that he did it, and that he was necessitated to that extremity for his own preservation, saying, that Sir Arthur Haslerig was so enraged against him, that he would be satisfied with nothing but his blood. I endeavoured to take him off from that opinion, by telling him, that being assured of

restoration, reprinted by Maseres, Select Tracts, p. 695. These letters are printed in the Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 4. Gumble says they reached London on Oct. 24.

[1] The letter to Ludlow is printed in the Appendix. See also Baker, p. 688; Skinner, Life of Monk, p. 127.

[2] Lambert began his journey to Scotland on Nov. 3, so that this interview probably took place on Nov. 1 or 2.

1659 Sir Arthur's sincere affection to the Commonwealth, I could not think that he would do any thing to the prejudice of those that were friends to it. I told him also, that according to my notion of things, the aim and design of Sir Arthur Haslerig was good, even in that matter which had been the first occasion of difference between them concerning new titles and powers, which had proved so fatal to the Parliament in former time, and which he thought very unsafe under an equal and moderate Government. I assured him that Sir Arthur had a personal respect for him, which he had manifested on several occasions, particularly I desired him to remember that he had prevailed with the Parliament to grant him the command of two regiments, and sided with those members who were for the greatest sum to be given him in acknowledgment of his service in Cheshire. In conclusion, I told him that Sir Arthur was well known not to be of an obliging carriage; and therefore if ever he had been used too roughly by him, it would become him to pardon it, and to charge it upon his temper, especially since he had not spared the best of his friends, of which I gave him divers instances, some of which related to my self. After this discourse the officers declared to us their resolution to do great things for the publick good [1], and pressed us earnestly to come amongst them to their Committee of Safety: but we desired to be excused, till such time as the common cause might be secured to the satisfaction of good men, and therefore agreed upon another meeting, wherein this affair might be fully debated. In the mean time I endeavoured to moderate the warmth of some of the Parliament-party, and to bring them to desire a reconciliation with the army, that by that means the publick might be preserved from ruin; and to this end a meeting was appointed between Mr. Scot, Col. Morley, Mr. Say, my

[1] 'The Council of War... has lately been upon the point of suppressing tithes and the Court of Chancery, as being both a burden to the people and very unnecessary; if the wishes of the subaltern officers had been attended to, this reform would have been accomplished.' Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov. $\frac{7}{17}$; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 284.

self, and one person more, whose name I have forgot; 1659
where after much debate on that subject, I shewed them the address which I had brought from all the officers in Ireland, as well general as inferiour, to whom it had been tendered, and informed them that the Irish Brigade had assured me at Chester, that they would continue faithful to the Parliament, and had acknowledged their error in signing the petition from Darby. Hereupon they desired me to publish the address from Ireland, together with what had passed between the Irish Brigade and me, supposing it might be of great service in that conjuncture. I told them I would consider of it, and that for the present I had nothing to object against the publication of those papers, except my fear that by so doing I might so far exasperate the army, as to render all my offices to reconcile them to the Parliament utterly ineffectual. When the company was separated, and Mr. Scot and I going away together, he earnestly pressed me to improve the opportunity which he said I had in my hands, to be highly serviceable to the publick, which if I neglected, I should repent it as long as I had an hour to live. I told him that I thought he laid too much weight on my interest; but yet desired him to inform me what he thought it my duty to do. He said that I ought by all means to declare against the proceedings of the army, and to join with Monk in opposition to them. I replied, that tho I knew not what the design of Monk might be, yet I had entertained a charitable opinion of him, by reason of his declaration for the Parliament: but that it was my judgment, that if either the Parliament or the army should entirely prevail one against the other in this juncture, it would hazard the ruin of both; and therefore I thought my self obliged in duty to use the utmost of my endeavours to bring them to a reconciliation, before I should think of declaring my self. For as there was no appearance that the army could long subsist without a due provision for their paiment, which the Parliament only could make to the content of the people, especially since the passing of the vote against

1659 levying money unless by their authority[1]; so also it was necessary for the Parliament to have the assistance of the army in the great work they had before them, to establish a just and equal government in the nation.

After this I waited on Mr. Lenthal the Speaker of the Parliament, and gave him also an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and that I had many things to offer to the Parliament from that nation, which I hoped speedily to do, when he should return to the chair of the House; to which end I assured him I would imploy all my interest, being fully convinced of the injustice of the army in the late violence, and that no authority but that of the Parliament can render any form of government agreeable to the people[2]. I acquainted him also with the sentiments of the Irish Brigade, with all which he declared himself much satisfied; and having given me a relation of his own gallantry towards those of the army that had mutinied against him, as before-mentioned, I took my leave for that time. Some of the Council of State writ letters to Col. Monk to incourage him in his resolutions for the Parliament[3], and Lieutenant-General Fleetwood sent one Capt. Lloyd with an answer to that which he had received

[1] The army began by attempting to borrow £30,000 from the City, sending Desborough, Whitelocke, and Fleetwood to harangue the Common Council in order to persuade it to lend the money. This took place on Nov. 8, 1659, before Ludlow reached London. Their speeches are reprinted in the old Parliamentary History, xxii. 10; cf. Clarendon S. P. iii. 601; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 285, 288.

[2] 'I have often heard him most affectionately say, that this Parliament are the only leaves of the tree of life, which (under God) must be for the healing of the nations; they are the only legitimate spouse, all other conventions are but as concubines, because no power upon earth can legally summon a Parliament, nor any but this Parliament save these nations from ruin and confusion; with many such like passionate expressions, arguing a restlessness and total dissatisfaction till this happy Parliament, the joy of Saints and the honour of Jesus Christ, were restored.' A Sober Vindication of Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow, p. 8.

[3] A letter from nine of the old council of state, Scot, Haselrig, Morley, Wallop, Walton, Ashley Cooper, Nevill, Berners, and Robert Reynolds, is printed in Baker, p. 695. It is dated Nov. 19. At a second meeting, on Nov 24, they appointed Monk Commander-in-Chief of all the armies in England and Scotland.

from the colonel, and to promise on his part all the advantages that he could desire [1]. Col. Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, and about six or seven officers more drew up an answer to Monk's letter directed to me in Ireland, and sent it to me at London for my approbation, together with the letter it self. Having perused both, I perceived a great alteration in many of the officers of Ireland, and a great defection from their duty [2]. For in their answer they manifestly took part with the army, and required Monk to desist from his undertaking, charging the blood that might be shed in this quarrel on his head, with much more to the same effect. With these letters I received others from Col. Cooper and Maj. Warren, complaining of the said breach, and of the hardships which they said were put upon them by those whom I had intrusted with the command of the forces, and earnestly pressing me to return to them. I thought my self obliged to answer these letters, and in that to Col. Jones I expressed my dissatisfaction with what he and some others had written to Col. Monk, wherein they had espoused the interests of the army, contrary to the trust they had received from the Parliament and me, which thing deserved the more blame, because the army had as yet declared for no other government than that of a court-martial; whereas Col. Monk, whatever his designs might be, had hitherto asserted the authority of the Parliament. To the same purpose I writ to Col. Cooper and Major Warren, advising them to be careful not to join themselves to a faction in opposition to the civil authority of the nation; and sent orders to Col. Cooper, who was a good officer, and very acceptable to the best sort of people in the northern parts, to command the forces there, and to be vigilant on all occasions to promote the publick service [3]. And tho the letters which had been sent to

1659

Nov. 4.

[1] Captains Wallington and Lloyd were sent to carry Monk the treaty of Nov. 15, made by Monk's commissioners with those of the English army. Baker, p. 694.

[2] See Baker, Chronicle, pp. 688, 690.

[3] Col. Thos. Cooper, many of whose letters are amongst the Thurloe Papers. In vol. vii. p. 425, there is a letter from him to Henry Cromwell on the Protector's death. See also Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, p. 198. An

1659 Ireland by the Council of Officers at Wallingford House were for the present laid aside; yet being informed that endeavours were used privately to make them take effect, and to engage those forces to the faction of the army, I went to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and desired him, that to prevent setting the army in Ireland together by the ears, the proceedings in that matter might be let fall; telling him that if they absolutely required the officers there to subscribe their confederacy, it would come to pass that many of them would lay down their commissions, and thereby a way would be open to fill their places with corrupt and scandalous persons, who might not only prove the causes of great disorders in that country, but also would be so fixed in their stations, as not easily to be removed again, it being one of the articles of their papers, that no officer should be displaced but by a court-martial. The Lieutenant-General avowing that he had not foreseen either of those inconveniences, promised to desist from any farther prosecution of that matter.

In the mean time the officers at Wallingford House were not negligent, and having drawn up an engagement, as I said before, they required those of the army who desired to continue in their imployments, to subscribe it. By this means Col. Okey, Col. Morley, Col. Alured, Lieutenant-Col. Farley, and divers others who were not of their faction, were removed from their commands[1]; tho Col. Moss and Col. Rich were permitted to continue in their charges without subscribing. Col. Rich was the more willing to retain his regiment, that he might be the better acquainted with the designs of the army, and have more opportunities of rectifying the mistakes of such officers, who

account of Cooper is given by Noble in his list of Oliver's Lords; House of Cromwell, ed. 1787, i. 426. See also Harleian Miscellany, iii. 483. He died in 1659.

[1] See 'The Declaration of the Officers of the army opened,' p. 29, which states that fifteen officers were so turned out, naming Colonels Sir Arthur Haslerig, Morley, Saunders, Alured, Hacker, Okey and Markham, Lieut.-Colonel Farley, Majors Barton, Evelyn and Sedascue, Adjutant-General Nelthrop and Captain Wagstaffe.'

tho honest and well meaning men, yet might happen to be deluded by the plausible pretences of their superiors. But that which principally perswaded him to continue amongst them, was the interest and friendship which he had with Vice-Admiral Lawson, who commanded the fleet at that time, and who very much depended upon the advice of the colonel for the measures he should take to serve the publick. Their Committee of Safety also nominated Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Commissioner Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, Major Saloway, Col. Tichburn, and me, to consider of a form of government for the three nations, and to report our opinions to them [1]. And tho some of us were very unwilling to have any part in an affair of this nature, yet seeing we were now under the power and government of the sword, we resolved to procure the best settlement we could get, if we could not obtain such a one as we desired, hoping at least to procure the regulation of what was most amiss. And therefore we had several meetings on this subject, wherein we agreed upon the principal points in dispute. But the greatest difficulty was in what manner the result of our debates should receive a sanction. The army-party desired that the forces on foot in the three nations should be drawn together, and that they, with such of the people who would join with them, should give their consent to the form agreed on in a publick assembly. This I could not approve, but resolved, if we could come to any agreement, to procure it to be laid before the Parliament for their approbation, or never to assent to it.

1659

Nov. 1.

[1] This committee, nominated on Nov. 1, was instructed 'to consider of and prepare a form of government to be settled over the three nations in the way of a free state and Commonwealth, and afterwards to present it to the Committee of Safety for their further considerations.' It consisted of fourteen persons, including Lambert, Desborow, Strickland, Warriston, Berry, Hewson, Sir James Harrington and Cornelius Holland, besides those mentioned by Ludlow. True Narrative, p. 63. On its further proceedings see Mercurius Politicus, 915, 956, 957, 962. 'Sir Henry Vane has consented to be of the number of these sub-delegated commissioners, though he does not publicly engage in other matters of state.' Bordeaux to Mazarin; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 284.

1659 Nov. 4. During these transactions, Col. Monk having received the answer of Col. Jones, and other officers in Ireland, to the letter he had written to them, and not liking the contents of it, seized Major Barret, by whom it was sent[1]; and resolving to march for London with all possible expedition, he fell upon new modelling his men; wherein he had two notable advantages, the one from divers of his officers, who being of the Wallingford House party, voluntarily surrendred their commissions to him, whose places he immediately filled with his own creatures: the other from the late Act of Parliament, whereby he was constituted one of the seven generals appointed to command the army, by virtue of which authority he undertook so to regulate his forces, as might be most for his purpose. Before his departure from Scotland, he procured a sum of mony from the Scots, with which he paid his souldiers, and thereby obliged them the more to his service, especially at this time, when they knew the army in England were in want of it, and knew not well how to raise any, having interrupted the civil authority by whom alone money may rightfully be raised[2]. The army party being informed of his design, resolved to draw a body of their troops together to be sent against him, with orders, if possible, to possess themselves of Newcastle, a place of great importance to the city of London, and to fight him, if an opportunity should be offered. Four thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse were appointed for this service[3], together with the Irish Brigade, com-

[1] Barret and Captain Dean who endeavoured to corrupt Monk's soldiers were 'sent away from Scotland with a severe rebuke. The General being unwilling to punish them by imprisonment or any severer course because they came to him on public business.' Baker, p. 691.

[2] The Commissioners of Scotland met at Berwick on Dec. 13. Monk's negotiations with them are given in Baker, p. 696.

[3] 'The regiments that are to march are said to be Col. Morley's, Col. Moss, and two more of foot; besides Col. Hacker's regiment of horse, three troops of Col. Packer's commanded by Major Gladman (the other four are to keep their station about the Mews and elsewhere); and many others who are to have a train of artillery, etc.' Weekly Post, Oct. 25 to Nov. 1.

manded by Col. Zanchey, who notwithstanding his late carriage, came with great confidence to me to receive my orders; but I was very reserved to him in that particular, knowing how instrumental he had been in promoting the present disorders. The committee of the army intrusted Col. Lambert with the command of these forces, who having dispatched his orders to the souldiery that were quartered in the north to draw together, and to seize on the town of Newcastle, went himself by post for that place. Before his departure, he desired those who had been appointed to consider of a form of government, to proceed in their consultations, and to send the result of them to him, promising to give his assent and approbation to it. But some of us earnestly pressed that we might come to an agreement before he began his journy, assuring him that it would very much tend to facilitate his present undertaking, especially if the establishment designed might be so just and equal, that a good man might reasonably adventure his life in the defence of it; whereas on the contrary, if things were left uncertain, and no form of government agreed upon, men would not easily be perswaded to engage for a party, against those who at least pretended to act for the civil authority. He acknowledged the force of these reasons, but could not be prevailed upon to stay till it should be perfected, tho he desired it might be sent after him with all possible expedition. 1659 Nov. 3.

In the mean time Col. Jones, and those officers who were in and about Dublin, sent Lieutenant-Col. Dobson to be their agent in England, and to inform them of publick affairs. He had been used ill by Oliver, and unjustly removed from his command; which being represented to me when I was there, I advanced him to be a field-officer: but being a man of slender ability, and little acquainted with publick affairs, he was easily deluded by the fair pretences of the Wallingford House party, and became their creature, rather than the agent of those that sent him. And now Col. Jones despairing to prevail upon the Council of Officers, whilst together, to subscribe the design of

1659 governing the three nations by a council of war, dispersed them to their respective quarters, and sent the Wallingford House paper to be subscribed by them when they could not have an opportunity of consulting together, accompanied with letters from himself to press them to it[1]: and having declared openly that if they refused to subscribe, the army in England would find a way to detain the pay that had been assigned to them by the Parliament; many of those who had signed an engagement to the Parliament, which I had carried over to England, and therein expressed their sorrow for the interruption of the civil authority, together with their firm resolution to adhere constantly to them for the future, were now brought to sign an engagement directly contrary to the former. Of which being informed, I thought my self obliged to write to Col. Jones and other officers of the army, and to expostulate with them concerning the foulness of these practices, that were not only contrary to their late solemn promises, and pretended sorrow for their former evil compliances, but also tending in a high degree to set up the power of the sword upon the ruins of the civil authority. Col. Jones in his answer excused himself, as not having foreseen the inconveniences of the foresaid paper, affirming that he had only permitted it to be promoted at the incessant importunities of others; but yet he expressed some discontent that I should lay so heavy a charge upon him, who had undertaken his imployment at my desire, and had managed it according to the best of his understanding. He concluded that he earnestly desired I would return to my command, and ease him of the burden that was upon him. About the same time Serjeant Steel, one of the Commissioners in Ireland, being nominated of the Committee of Safety, took that opportunity to go into England, as he had long desired to do, by whose departure the affairs of Ireland suffered much, he being generally esteemed to be a man of great prudence and uncorrupted

[1] A curious letter from Jones, Corbet, and Thomlinson, dated Nov. 8, ordering a general day of humiliation and prayer on account of the divisions and backslidings in the army, is printed in the Publick Intelligencer for Nov. 14–21.

integrity [1]. At London he refused to act in the Committee of Safety; and tho he sometimes went to Wallingford House, and discoursed with Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and some others about things relating to a future establishment, yet he always declared his opinion to be, that the Parliament were the only proper judges of that matter, and used the best of his endeavours that they might be restored to their authority. After his departure, the Commissioners of the Parliament in Ireland fell in with the party of the army, and altered their title in the orders and commissions signed by them, from that of Commissioners of the Parliament, to that of Commissioners of the Commonwealth; and being informed that the garison of Ayre in Scotland had discharged their governour, and declared for Monk, they ordered a ship of war to cruise on that coast, to prevent their correspondence with the northern parts of Ireland. Col. Lambert being now in the north of England, and his forces in possession of Newcastle, divers messages past between him and Col. Monk, the latter always declaring his resolution, as he had done before to the Generals commissionated by the Parliament, to be assisting to them in settling the government on the foot of a Commonwealth, without a King, single person, or House of Lords: and seeing that the army had begun to treat with him, he nominated Col. Wilkes, Col. Knight, and Lieutenant-Col. Clobery, to be commissioners to adjust the present differences with those of the Wallingford House party. 1659 Nov. 3.

The Irish Brigade, tho Col. Zanchey and others endeavoured to perswade them to join heartily with those of the army, had not quite forgot our discourse at Chester, and therefore they resolved not to engage against Monk, till they might see that what they were about to fight for was worth the hazard they were to run. To this end they signed a paper in the nature of an association, whereby

[1] Noble gives a life of William Steele in his list of Cromwell's Lords; House of Cromwell, i. 396. At the restoration he retired to Holland, returned afterwards to England, and died in 1680. An abstract of his will, with a pedigree and an account of his family history, is given by Mr. Aitken in his life of Richard Steele, vol. ii. pp. 349–352.

1659 they obliged themselves to live and die together; one of the principal officers informing me by a letter, that if Col. Lambert designed to advance himself, he must chuse another pole to climb by than the Irish Brigade, who were fully resolved not to assist him in such an attempt. Lambert being made acquainted with the foresaid paper, concluded that the jealousy they had of him arose from the influence I had upon that Brigade, and thereupon wrote to Sir Henry Vane, desiring him to procure a letter from me to them, to remove that prejudice which they had entertained against him. Accordingly Sir Henry Vane came to me, and having assured me that Col. Lambert had rather been made use of by the Wallingford House party, than that he had been in any manner the principal contriver of the late disorders, and that he would be an impediment to them in their design of advancing a single person, I consented to desire our Brigade that they would be careful to inform themselves well before they should determine what course to take, that they might not, out of a jealousy of one person, contribute to the advancement of others who might possibly prove to be worse. Upon the receipt of my letter, which I sent to one of the principal officers amongst them to be communicated to the rest, they marched nearer to the forces of Col. Lambert, who thereupon sent me a letter of thanks, acknowledging that I had exercised my charity to him in an extraordinary manner, considering the late transactions; protesting that he designed not the violence that was offered to the Parliament, and was wholly innocent from promoting that petition which had a tendency to it[1]; that he knew not of any interruption to be given to the House, till the day it was put in execution; and that he had no further design

[1] The Army Declaration of Oct. 27, speaking of the debate of Sept. 22, says that the House, misinformed by Haselrig about the Derby petition, 'fell into high debates, expressing great heat and anger against the Lord Lambert ... although they were truly informed by the Lord Fleetwood and others, that Lord Lambert gave no consent, nor had any hand in the same, but endeavoured the suppression thereof both before and after his coming to town.'

therein, than to preserve himself from destruction, which he conceived was intended against him. He concluded with assurances that he would take all opportunities to advance the good of the Commonwealth, and desired my friendship no farther than he should act in order to that end. 1659

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper[1], also a great instrument in this horrid treachery, as he was most active amongst those of the Parliament who were consulting for their restitution, so notwithstanding the affronts he had formerly put upon me, the Lord Arundel being pressed by the trustees and contractors at Drury House for the paying in of thousands of pounds which he was in arrears for some lands which they had sold of his to some of his friends, and which Cromwell had discharged him of, they not allowing that to be a sufficient discharge threaten him to sell the land again, according to a command they had received from the Parliament to that purpose, if he forthwith paid not the said arrears. It being apprehended that my letter to them might be of service to him therein, he the same Sir Anthony, coming to me with him to desire me to write on his behalf, professed to be very affectionate to the interest of the Commonwealth, which he did so to the life that I was much pleased therewith, having always believed him to be otherwise inclined. But notwithstanding his fair words, I was not so confident of him as to repose any great trust in him, he having played fast and loose so often, declaring sometimes for the king, then for the Parliament, then for Cromwell, afterwards against him, and now for the Commonwealth.

About this time I went to Sir Arthur Haslerig, whom I knew to be of a most rigid and inflexible spirit, and endeavoured as well as I could to perswade him of the necessity incumbent on us all to lay aside our private animosities, and to unite our whole strength to preserve the vessel of the Commonwealth from sinking. I desired him to entertain a better opinion of Sir Henry Vane, and some other persons than he seemed to have, assuring him that it was impossible to prevent that ruin which threatned us,

[1] This paragraph is from the suppressed passages printed by Christie.

1659 but by a hearty reconciliation, and a solid union amongst our selves. I acknowledged his care of the publick in the endeavours he had used to hinder the accumulation of extraordinary powers and titles upon any person, and to render the sword subservient to the civil magistrate. But I could not forbear to acquaint him, that in my poor opinion he had not taken the right way to that great end, having lately estranged himself from his antient friends, and fallen in with the lawyers and clergy, putting those, who would have been his principal strength in times of necessity, into despair of receiving any good from him, and relying upon men whose principles and practices are inconsistent with a just and equal government. I agreed with him that nothing could recover us from the present confusions, but the restitution of the Parliament to their authority: tho I thought my self obliged to add, that if he and others should return to the exercise of their power with a spirit of revenge against those that had wronged them and the publick, and not rather contribute their utmost to reconcile all those whose interests were involved in that of the Commonwealth, they would certainly ruin themselves, and every one that wished well to the Parliament and the common cause. Sir Arthur seemed so sensible of the truth of what I had said, that he assured me, if ever he returned to sit in Parliament, and thereupon shewed himself revengeful to any man, he would permit me to spit in his face. In the mean time many members of the Parliament had frequent meetings with their friends to consult about the most proper means to be used for their restitution, to which I was never called, they having conceived a suspicion that I had too much sided with the army. And on the other side, those of the army were jealous of me, as indeed they had more cause, for my adherence to the Parliament. For I had openly declared my dissatisfaction with their late proceedings, and my doubts of the sincerity of their protestations to improve their power to the public advantage. I had refused to be present at their Committee of Safety, or in that of Nominations, tho con-

sisting of the same persons the Parliament had formerly appointed, excepting only Sir Arthur Haslerig. And being one day in the next room to that where they used to sit, and Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, with others, pressing me to go in, telling me, that they wanted one to make a quorum, and that the officers to be approved were honest men, and such as I esteemed; yet I utterly refused to have any thing to do with them. But Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway did prevail with themselves to act with them in their committees, and to discharge the office of Commissioners of the Navy, to which they had been nominated by the Parliament, and continued by the officers of the army. 1659

It being resolved by the members of Parliament to open a way if possible for their return to the House, they prevailed with Col. Whetham, then governour of Portsmouth, to admit Sir Arthur Haslerig, Col. Walton, and Col. Morley, with some forces into that important place[1]: who thereupon immediately declared for the Parliament, and issued out orders for more forces to come to their assistance. They also dispatched letters to Monk to warrant his undertaking, and invited the fleet to join with them. The commissioners that had been appointed by Col. Monk to treat with those of the army, had no small part in promoting this diversion of the forces of the army; yet to colour their designs, they endeavoured at the same time to lay asleep the Wallingford House party, and to make them believe that they designed nothing more than a good understanding with them. By which artifice they Dec. 3.

[1] 'We came hither on Saturday the third of December instant, at four of the clock, my self and my son, Col. Morley, and Col. Walton, with divers other gentlemen some whereof were neighbouring inhabitant to this place.' A letter from Sir Arthur Haselrig in Portsmouth to an honourable member of the late Parliament, 4to. 1659. Haslerig and eight members of the old Council of State had written a letter of encouragement to Monk on Nov. 19, and on Nov. 24 had drawn up a commission appointing him Commander-in-chief of the forces in England and Scotland, which they left in the hands of Clarges to send to him. Baker's Chronicle, p. 695. Monk's commissioners also wrote to Haselrig on Dec. 19 for co-operation, Clarke MSS. lii. 41.

1659 caused them to neglect those means which they had in their hands to reduce Monk and his party, who were not to be compared with the forces of the army either for number, experience, or unanimity. For tho by his solemn protestations and publick declaration of his firm resolution to adhere to the Parliament and their cause against a King, single person, or House of Peers, he had deluded divers of those who were at a distance from him, and who from their enmity to the faction of the army were ready to trust any that might probably rescue them from that servitude; yet those who approached him nearer, and understood him better, finding him on all occasions to encourage the most vicious, and to prefer men of monarchical principles, tho of the most scandalous lives, to all the offices that became vacant, saw so clearly into the drift of his design, that most of the officers who had any sense of religion or common honesty abandoned him, and joined themselves to Col. Lambert; and after them about three hundred horsemen, leaving their horses and equipage behind them, did the same. But this proved very prejudical in the consequence to the publick service. For those officers that deserted Monk gave him an opportunity of filling their commands with his own creatures, whereas if they had continued with him, they might have had a considerable influence upon the whole party, to make use of as opportunities had offered. The horse likewise that abandoned him made room for others, who were mounted and equipped without expence, and composed of such as were fit for his purpose[1]. Yet for all this the treaty went on between him and the army, and seemed to draw near to a conclusion[2], it being agreed that he should have one part of a sum of money that had been appointed to pay his forces: that he should be one of their committee for the nomination of officers to such places

[1] A list of the officers who deserted Monk is given in the Publick Intelligencer, Nov. 28–Dec. 5. Phillips gives a detailed account of the changes made by Monk in the different regiments. Baker, 685–691.

[2] An agreement between Monk's commissioners, Cols. Wilkes, Knight, and Clobery, and those of the English army was signed at Wallingford House on Nov 15. It is printed in Baker, p. 693.

as should be vacant in the army: that a representative of 1659
the people should be called with all convenient speed; and to that end commissioners should be appointed by the military power of the three nations, to consider and agree upon the qualifications of such as might be elected, and sit as members. Accordingly those entrusted by Monk nominated Mr. Scot, Sir James Harrington, and Col. Thompson, on their part: Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, and Major Saloway, were appointed for the army or Wallingford House party; and on the part of the forces in Ireland, Col. Barrow and Lieutenant-Colonel Dobson were joined with me to be commissioners to consider of the qualifications of the persons to be elected, as aforesaid. A General Council of Officers was also appointed to meet at Whitehall on a certain day, and to consist of Dec. 6.
two persons of each regiment in the three nations, to be chosen by the officers of the several regiments. It was desired also, that the fleet would send their deputies to this assembly, who were to prepare matters for the consideration of the representative that they pretended to call. I was altogether a stranger to these counsels, the articles having been drawn up by a private junto; yet I know not how, I was perswaded to be present when they were read to the Council of Officers for their approbation, where I absolutely refused to consent to any part of it, except that whereby two of each regiment in the three nations were proposed to meet in a general council. Which I accounted to be the most probable way of finding out the true sense of the armies, into whose hands the power was most unhappily fallen, and much less dishonourable if not more safe than to continue longer under the servitude of the faction at Wallingford House, who had presumed to give law both to the Parliament and the army. I cannot omit that at this meeting some persons having moved that the commissioners from Monk might be required to produce their powers, that it might appear whether he would stand obliged to what should be agreed, they could not be perswaded to shew any orders from him to that purpose; and yet

1659 Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and his cabinet council were contented to treat with them, tho they had never seen any commission that they had. And now it began to be suspected that the design of Clobery and the rest of the commissioners was only to prolong the treaty in which they were engaged, that the forces of the army might be kept from attacking Monk, which he was afraid of, having found his own party wavering and doubtful. They well knew, that if they could spin out the time in treaty till the expiration of the taxes that had been laid by the Parliament, which would happen in the month of January next ensuing, the army would then be driven to great straits for want of money, wherewith Monk's forces had been supplied by the Scots. Of this Sir Henry Vane was very sensible, and gave both army and Parliament for lost when they began to treat. But the chief officers of the army having already parted with their honesty by driving on their own private interest, were now resolved to shake hands with their reason also, and sent down to Scotland one Dr. Clarges, brother to Monk's wife, and a known royalist, with a commission to perswade him to an accommodation with them. They dispatched also some forces for the reduction of Portsmouth, but gave the command of them to such as were either little acquainted with their souldiers, or inclining in their affections to the Parliament. And tho they knew not how to procure money for the paiment of their standing army, they raised the militia in divers parts, and gave out commissions for horse and foot to be levied, promising pay to all. Some of them earnestly solicited me to raise two regiments, one of horse, and another of foot; but I told them, they had already as many as they could pay, and I feared more than would be well employed. They endeavoured all this while to keep fair with Sir Henry Vane, Major Saloway, and me, making large protestations of the sincerity of their intentions, and the great designs they had to promote the service of the publick, hoping that by our continuing to come amongst them, it would come to pass that those who had a good opinion of us would extend it also to them and their actions.

But they were obliged to discover themselves more openly 1659
on the following occasion. The Parliament had manifested before the last interruption, an inclination to ease the people of the paiment of tithes, and in lieu of them to appropriate a certain sum of money for the maintenance and encouragement of the ministry, to be distributed in a more equal manner than had been formerly practised; hoping, if this could be effected, that the clergy would no longer have any other interest to promote than that of the whole Commonwealth, nor be a distinct party from the people. It was well known also to the lawyers, that they still retained the design of regulating the practice of the law, and relieving the people in that particular. These two parties therefore being equally concerned to perpetuate the abuses practised amongst them, became equally sensible of the common dangers[1]. And in order to prevent it, Whitlock and St. Johns for the lawyers, with Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye for the clergy, who at this time had frequent meetings in the Savoy, entred into a private treaty with the principal persons of the Wallingford House party, and offered to raise a hundred thousand pounds for the use of the army, upon assurance of being protected by them in the full enjoyment of their respective advantages and profits; with this farther condition, that they should oblige themselves not to hearken any longer to the advice of Sir Henry Vane. Whereby we were left destitute of hope to see any other reformation of the clergy than what they themselves would consent to, any other regulation of the law than the Chief Justice and the Commissioner of the Seal would permit, or any more liberty for tender consciences

[1] Whitelocke gives the danger of an attempt to overthrow the law as his reason for joining the Committee of Safety. 'Desborough and some other great officers of the army and actors in this business, came to me, and made it their earnest request to me to undertake this trust, and told me, that some of this committee, as Vane, Salway, and others, had a design to overthrow magistracy, ministry, and the law; and that to be a balance to them, they had chosen me and some others to oppose this design, and to support and preserve the laws, magistracy, and ministry in these nations.' Memorials, iv. 367.

1659 than the Lord Warriston would be pleased to grant, who representing the Scotish interest, made up the third estate of our reformation.

I began now to think all my time lost that I had spent in endeavouring to reconcile our broken and divided counsels, and had no hopes left, but from the General Council of Officers, which was to consist of two persons to be nominated by each regiment in the three nations, as I said before. In order to this meeting, warrants were signed and issued out for their election to the armies in England and Ireland; and Monk's commissioners departed for Scotland to procure, as they said, all things to be done there according to their agreement. But Monk kept himself upon the reserve, and instead of making good what his commissioners had promised, he desired time to consider of the articles of the treaty, and required an explanation of several particulars therein contained: so that much time was spent in messages between him and Lambert. Amongst others Col. Zanchey was sent to tempt him with promises and offers of advantage, but he having struck a bargain in another place, made use of Zanchey's presence only to keep the army-party in expectation of his compliance, thereby gaining time, which he knew would shortly bring the affairs of the army to the last extremities[1]. He gave out no orders to the regiments that were with him to elect members for the General Council of Officers, as had been agreed by his commissioners, but formed new difficulties every day to avoid confirming the treaty; and under pretence that Col. Wilkes, one of his commissioners, had too much inclined to the interest of the army, he dismissed him from his command. Notwithstanding which, such folly and stupidity had seized those of the army, that upon loose and general promises of compliance they continued their corre-

Dec. 6. spondence with him. The time fixed for the meeting of the General Council of Officers being come, tho the deputies from Ireland were not arrived, nor any from the army under Col. Lambert; and tho it was well known that none were

[1] On Col. Zanchey's mission to Monk, see Baker, p. 695.

chosen to represent the forces with Monk in Scotland, yet 1650
those of Wallingford House resolved to act as if they had all been present. I had written to some of the officers in Ireland, that if they should take a resolution to send any persons to this council, they would do well to make choice of such as were most inclined to the restitution of the Parliament; but that, as to my own particular, I was not willing to have any thing to do amongst them. Notwithstanding which I soon received a letter by the hands of Col. Salmon from the officers in Ireland, to desire me to act for them at the General Council; which having imparted to some of my friends, and they concurring to encourage me to it, I would not refuse to serve them. Being in the council I did what I could to procure the restitution of the Parliament, wherein I was much assisted by Col. Rich. Five or six days we spent in a debate concerning the form of government, which had been drawn up, as I said before, expecting the arrival of those that should be chosen for Ireland, Scotland, and the army in the north of England. During which time Col. Rich and I took frequent occasions of informing the officers concerning the publick affairs, desiring them to be cautious of engaging themselves in any design, of which they might have cause afterwards to repent, and exhorting them to contribute their endeavours towards settling such a government as all good men might concur in, and live happily under. We met with such success in our discourses with the officers, that tho the Wallingford House party had influenced the elections as much as they could, and under pretence that the fleet was at too great a distance, and divided into too many squadrons to be in a capacity of chusing in due time, had caused the Committee of the Admiralty to nominate whom they pleased to serve for the fleet, yet they found their wheels to move so slowly, that to facilitate their business they were obliged to send away divers officers to their commands, under colour that their presence was necessary in their respective stations, by reason of the danger that threatned them from all parts; when indeed, the true reason of their dismission was

1659 taken from the dissatisfaction they began to shew with the proceedings of the chief officers. By these and other means it came to pass that the grandees of the army resolved to spend no more time in the debate touching the form of government, and therefore desired a conference with Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway, who being unwilling to meet them without me, prevailed with me to accompany them to Wallingford House; where Lieutenant-General Fleetwood expressed great uneasiness on account of the publick distractions, and desired them to advise him what measures to take to remove the present difficulties, and to prevent greater mischiefs which seemed impending over us. These gentlemen suspecting the designs of Fleetwood and his party, kept themselves on their guard, and in an ironical manner told him, that the most certain way to cure all things would be to set up Richard again. 'Just as I thought,' said Fleetwood, 'it has happened, that the coming of my Lord Richard to Hampton Court would give an occasion of jealousy,' and then protested that his removal thither proceeded from himself, that he had not been advised to it by them, and that they had no intention to set him up again. We believed what we thought most reasonable concerning his removal to that place. But to that of his restitution, Major Saloway asked them, whether things might not be brought to that pass as to make it necessary, tho they intended it not? which Fleetwood denying, the Major pressed him farther, and desired to know from him, if it were not possible that the necessity of our affairs might oblige us to a compliance with Charles Stuart? Thus they stood upon their guard on both parts, not adventuring to trust one another; that mutual confidence by which they had done so much being intirely lost. However that I might not be wanting on my part, I told them with my usual freedom, that the restitution of the Parliament seemed to me to be the only remedy to recover us from our present distempers, and to prevent the fatal consequences of our divisions. To this the Lieutenant-General answered, that according to an agreement made between

them and Major-General Lambert before his departure, 1659
nothing could be done in that matter without mutual consent[1]; and so we departed with as little satisfaction on either side as we brought with us. From them I went to the Council of Officers who were then assembled, and was much surprized to find them debating whether a new Parliament should be called, and ready to go to the question; which I doubted not would pass in the affirmative, having observed that it met with little opposition, except from Col. Rich. And tho I had but little hope to obstruct the design, yet that I might discharge my duty, I took the liberty to lay before them the injustice and vanity of such a resolution, endeavouring to prove that as they had no authority to warrant them in that attempt, so neither would it be of any advantage to the nation if it should succeed. I desired them to consider how great an enterprize they were about to undertake, without any sufficient authority to justify them in it: that they could not pretend to any from the Parliament, and that it was as evident they had none from the nations, no not from the military part of them, the deputies from Scotland and Ireland being not arrived, nor any from the army in the north of England: that at least one third part of the officers present were against their design; and that it seemed to me to be an unaccountable presumption for two thirds of about a fourth part of the army to undertake to put a period to the civil authority. I endeavoured to perswade them that the design was as vain and foolish as unwarrantable and unjust; for by this means they would utterly disoblige the Parliament and all their friends, who were very numerous: that Monk having declared against them already, and the greatest number of their own body disapproving the thing, it would come to pass, that all things would be brought into a miserable confusion; and it may be the common enemy would find means to return,

[1] On account of this engagement to Lambert, Fleetwood also refused Whitelocke's proposal that he should make terms with Charles II. Memorials, iv. 382.

1659 and utterly destroy the contending parties. But their resolution being already taken, in consequence of the agreement they had made with the clergy and lawyers, we could obtain no more than a respite of the conclusion of this debate till the afternoon. Going out of the council, I desired Col. Desborow, whose interest I knew to be very great with the rest, that he would desist from the farther prosecution of this design, representing to him, as well as I could, the confusions and mischiefs that would inevitably ensue upon it. To which he answered, that the Parliament had deceived them twice, and that they were now resolved to put it out of their power to do it again. In the afternoon the debate was reassumed ; and a motion being made that they would take the restitution of the Parliament into their consideration, Col. Desborow, to keep his word, did what he could to asperse the Parliament, saying, that they had not performed any part of the promises that had been made for them before their first return to the House, having made no provision for the Lord Richard, as he called him, nor granted a satisfactory indemnity ; but by the insertion of divers oblique clauses had rendred it absolutely ineffectual : that they had taken no care to secure a liberty to tender consciences, nor to provide for the publick safety by establishing a select senate [1] : that they had manifested their unworthiness not only in these negatives, but had also positively declared their intentions to ruin the army, by removing the principal officers, and placing others in their commands who were of a different spirit and principles, and by drawing up one part of the army against the other,

[1] On the question of a select senate see 'A Letter to an officer of the army concerning a Select Senate,' by Henry Stubbe, 1659. In their petition of May 12, 1659, the army demanded: 'That in order to the establishing and securing the peace, welfare and freedom of the people of these nations . . . the legislative power thereof may be in a representative of the people, consisting of a House, successively chosen by the people, in such way and manner as this Parliament shall judge meet, and of a select senate coordinate in power, of able and faithful persons, eminent for godliness, and such as continue adhering to this cause.' Cf. 'The Declaration of the officers of the army opened, by E. D.,' p. 7.

in order to destroy both. For which reasons he declared his opinion to be, that to reinvest those with authority who were so manifestly unfit for that trust, would prove the worst of all the expedients that could be proposed. To this discourse I thought my self obliged to make some answer, and therefore took the freedom to say, that the Parliament being men, were liable to passions, and subject to imperfections, but that it might be said without immodesty, that they had been chargeable with as few as any of their predecessors, and possibly fewer than those that had pretended to succeed them: that they were the only number of men that had any legal call to the supream authority: that God had eminently appeared for them, and wonderfully assisted them to subdue all those that had opposed them both at home and abroad: that they had been so frugal of the publick purse, that upon the first interruption by Cromwel a vast sum was found in the treasury, tho their armies and fleets had been fully paid, and their magazines plentifully furnished with naval stores. How these advantages had been improved by those that had usurped their authority, was well known; and how the armies and fleets had been paid, they themselves were the best judges. At the return of the Parliament to the exercise of their authority, in the place of those vast sums they had left in the publick coffers, they found a debt of two millions and four hundred thousand pounds contracted by those who had taken upon them the management of affairs. I desired them to observe how unjustly the Parliament was accused of breaking their promises, who had promised nothing: that some of us indeed as private men had engaged to promote certain things in the House at the request of some officers of the army; but at the same time we acquainted them, that we could not answer for any thing except our own sincere endeavours in that affair. And yet I appealed to themselves, if the Parliament had not done those things, in which we had promised our endeavours, having undertaken to pay more than thirty thousand pounds for Mr. Richard Cromwel, whereby he 1659

1659 would be left in the clear possession of about eight thousand pounds a year, besides woods, plate, jewels, and other things of value: having passed that very clause for liberty of conscience which had been brought in by the officers themselves in their address; and having indemnified the souldiery in as full and ample manner as could be desired, with respect to their past actions, not only military but civil also; with this only reservation, that the Parliament might, if they should find cause, call to account such as had received bribes and exorbitant salaries, which was only designed as a check upon those who had been and still were enemies to the Commonwealth. As to what related to the chief officers of the army, I told them it had been made good to a tittle; for they had continued Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to be Commander-in-Chief of all their forces in England and Scotland: but if it was their intention that he should be Commander-in-Chief of the Parliament also, I confessed my self perswaded that it never had entred into the head of any of those persons before mentioned, to engage for that; and therefore what the Parliament did in causing him and the rest of the officers to take their commissions from them, and inserting a clause in that of the Commander-in-Chief, that it should continue during this Parliament, or till their farther order, was no way contrary to the promise of the said gentlemen. Neither could it be a just ground of exception to those of the army, if their intentions were such as they ought to be; for the Parliament being embarqued in the same vessel, would find it necessary, as well for their own security, as for that of the people, to leave the sword in faithful hands at the time of their dissolution, which they had fixed by a vote of the House. And since they still insisted upon their select senate, I desired them to remember that I had declared in the conference my opinion to be, that if such a thing could be made use of for a time to preserve our cause by an extraordinary power, I thought I should not be against it without better information; but if they designed thereby to erect a military power, in equal or superiour authority to

the civil, I should oppose it to the utmost of my ability: 1659
and had farther added, that I was fully perswaded I therein delivered the sense and intentions of the greatest part of the Parliament. To this they could make no reply, being conscious of the truth of what I said; but having made an agreement with the clergy, as I said before, that used to meet at the Savoy, they resolved to pursue it, and concluded, that considering the present posture of affairs a new Parliament should be called, as the most probable means to reconcile all differences. They agreed also with the ministers, that their maintenance by tithes should not be taken away till another revenue as ample and certain should be settled upon them: that some provision should be made for those who differed in faith and worship from the Established Church; but that the Quakers and some others, whose principles, they said, tended to the destruction of the civil society, should not be tolerated at all.

Whilst the army was thus employed, the Parliament party was not wanting to promote their interest, and to that end formed a design to get the Tower into their hands. Colonel Fitz, who was then Lieutenant of the place, had consented that Colonel Okey, with three hundred men, should lie dispersed about the Tower, prepared for the enterprize, promising that on a certain day he would cause Dec. 12.
the gates to be opened early in the morning, to let him pass in his coach; which opportunity Col. Okey with his men taking, might easily seize the guards, and possess himself of the place: and their attempt might have succeeded, had it not, by I know not what accident, been discovered to the Lord Mayor, who informed the army of it the night before it was to be put in execution[1]. Whereupon Col. Desborow, with some forces, was sent thither, who changed the guards, seized the Lieutenant of the Tower, and left Col. Miller to command there till farther order. Another party appeared for the Parliament in Wiltshire,

[1] An account of this attempt to surprise the Tower is printed in Mercurius Politicus, Dec. 8–15, p. 954.

1659 under the command of Major Croke[1]; who having told divers of my friends in that county, that the principal reasons of his dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the army had been taken from what I had said in the late Council of Officers, he prevailed with divers of them to side with him, and so marched towards Portsmouth, in order to join Sir Arthur Haslerig and Col. Morley, who had already possessed themselves of that place, and declared for the restitution of the Parliament. About the same time Hurst Castle was secured for the Parliament, whereby the communication of those in the Isle of Wight with England being rendred very difficult, they declared for the Parliament also. The fleet began to incline to the same counsels, and dispatched a messenger to Sir Arthur Haslerig at Portsmouth, to assure him, they would do nothing in opposition to them. In this conjuncture the Parliament party resolved to send Col. Walton, who was one of them, to communicate the present state of affairs to Col. Monk, and to advise him what measures he should take.

In the mean time the Wallingford House party, as if infatuated by a superiour power to procure their own destruction, continued obstinately to oppose the Parliament, and fixed in their resolution to call another. On the other side, I was sorry to find most of the Parliament men as stiff, in requiring an absolute submission to their authority, as if no differences had happened amongst us, nor the privileges of Parliament ever been violated, peremptorily insisting upon the intire subjection of the army, and refusing to hearken to any terms of accommodation, tho the necessity of affairs seemed to demand it, if we would preserve our cause from ruin. Therefore, tho I had resolved to depart with all convenient speed to my charge

[1] The declaration published by Croke's troops at their rendezvous at Warminster is printed in Mercurius Politicus, Dec. 29–Jan. 5, p. 996. Col. Richard Norton refused to engage with Haslerig and Walton, and Col. Fagge was captured on his way to join them with a hundred men he had raised in Sussex (Mercurius Politicus, pp. 945, 946). Mr. Robert Wallop, however, with about fifty horse raised amongst his tenants, reached them safely. Nicholas Love also joined them.

in Ireland, yet I was induced to defer my journey for some time, at the solicitation of my friends, who perswaded themselves that I might have interest enough with both parties to procure an accommodation between them. To that end I took all occasions to moderate the spirits of the members of Parliament; and that I might not render my self suspected to the officers, I continued to frequent their councils, which I was the more willing to do, because the Irish Brigade that was with Col. Lambert had signified to the Council of Officers, that they had chosen me with Lieutenant-Col. Walker, and two gentlemen more whose names I cannot recollect, to represent them at their meetings. 1659

At this time Col. Lockart Governour of Dunkirk finding his work at an end abroad by the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of France and Spain, returned to England; and coming to wait on Sir Henry Vane one day at his house, it was my fortune to be there at the same time. In the conversation we had, he very much lamented the divisions that were among us, affirming that if they had not proved an obstruction to him in his negotiations, we might have had what terms we could have asked either from France or Spain. Nov. 14.

The army having resolved, as I said before, to call a new Parliament, and many difficulties arising amongst them touching that matter, they referred the consideration of it to their Committee of Safety, who having spent some time in the debate, reported as their opinion to the Council of Officers, that the best way to be taken for summoning a Parliament would be to act therein according to antient custom, directing only some few qualifications to be observed as well in the electors as in the persons to be elected[1].

[1] The General Council of the army resolved on Dec. 10:—

'That a Parliament shall be called and appointed to sit down on or before February next.

'That the Parliament to be called shall be according to such qualifications and limitations, as are or shall be agreed upon, and may best secure the just rights, liberties and privileges, both civil and religious, of the people of this Commonwealth.' Mercurius Politicus, December 8–15, p. 945.

Whitelocke gives some account of the discussion concerning the qualifications of members. Memorials, iv. 379.

1659 Which when I perceived, and that no rules for qualifications could possibly be given and executed within the time appointed for the Parliament to meet, and that the design of the army tended manifestly to have such a Parliament as would permit the men of the sword to possess themselves of the supream authority; or if they should refuse to be brought to that, then, being a creature of the army, they should be dismissed with scorn, and the power resumed by the military men: for the prevention of these mischiefs I proposed to the Council of Officers that the essentials of our cause might be clearly stated, and declared inviolable by any authority whatsoever; and that in case any difference should hereafter arise between the Parliament and the army touching those particulars or any of them, a certain number of persons of known integrity might be appointed by this council finally to determine the matter. The council having without much difficulty agreed to this proposition, I presumed to proceed farther; and being fully perswaded that if such a power were conferred upon honest and disinterested persons, it would give more satisfaction to good men, and better provide for the publick safety, than to have the final decision of all things left to a mercenary army, I adventured to give in a list of one and twenty persons for that service, who should be called Conservators of Liberty. Then we went upon the debate of such particulars as should be referred to their cognizance and judgment, which were as followeth:

1. That the government should not be altered from a Commonwealth, by setting up a King, single person, or House of Peers.

2. That liberty of conscience should not be violated.

3. That the army should not be diminished, their conduct altered, nor their pay lessened without the consent of the major part of the Conservators [1].

[1] December 13. 'The General Council of Officers came to a result upon the following particulars:—

'Seven principles and unalterable fundamentals, which the General Council of Officers of the armies of the three nations and of the fleet have agreed on, to be perpetually kept and

Having proceeded thus far, it was resolved to put the names of the persons contained in the list to the vote of the council for their approbation, which was done in this manner. Every one of the council having received two small pieces of paper, in one of which was written an N for the negative, and in the other an A for the affirmative, when the candidate's name was proposed, every man put which of those he pleased into a hat; which done, the papers were taken out, and being found to agree for number with the persons there present, if the greater number of papers were marked with the letter A, then the person proposed was accounted to be chosen, otherwise to be omitted. I had contrived it so that the names of the first seven or eight persons of the list were officers of their own party, except Major Saloway and Sir Henry Vane, by which means chiefly it came to pass that the two last passed without opposition: but then they made a breach upon the order, and having put my name to the question against my will, I was approved. Which when they had done, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood proposed Col. Tichburn, one who had lately moved to set up Richard Cromwel again, and after him the Lord Warriston, who had publickly declared against liberty of conscience, with Mr. Strickland, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and two or three more, all of their faction, and procured them to be chosen in the room of Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr Wallop, Col. Walton, Col. Morley, Mr. Henry Nevil, and Col. Monk, 1659

observed in order to the conservation of this Commonwealth.

'I. That no Kingship shall be exercised in these nations.

'II. That they will not have any single person to exercise the office of chief magistrate in these nations.

'III. That an army may be continued and maintained, and be conducted, so as it may secure the peace of these nations, and may not be disbanded nor the conduct thereof altered but by consent of the said Conservators appointed.

'IV. That no imposition may be upon the consciences of those that fear God.

'V. That there be no House of Peers.

'VI. That the legislative and executive powers be distinct, and not in the same hands.

'VII. That both the assemblies of the Parliament shall be elected by the people of this Commonwealth duly qualified.' Mercurius Politicus, Dec. 8–15.

1659 who were next in order upon the list, and with whom I designed to balance the Wallingford House party. But by putting in these creatures in their places, it was evident they designed nothing less than to draw the whole power into their own hands; and lest we should doubt of their intentions, they gave an exclusion to Col. Rich, tho present, and a considerable officer in the army, because they suspected him not to favour their arbitrary designs. Here my patience began to leave me, and I told them openly that seeing they intended only to carry on a faction, and to govern the nation by the sword, I resolved to have no more to do with them, and thereupon refused to give in my billet upon the names of the six or seven persons that were last proposed: but they compleated their number, and in the next Publick Intelligence caused the names of those one and twenty persons, whom they had elected to be the Conservators of Liberty, to be published to the world, with notice of their resolution to summon a new Parliament, thinking thereby to please the people: but they were mistaken, for no man that loved his country could approve of it. And the Cavalier party conceived such hopes of their own affairs, that they grew impatient of any further delays, and designed the destruction of the army by open force. To that end divers of their party, who had fled to parts beyond the seas, returned secretly to London, and entred into the confederacy. The time of putting their design in execution was agreed, and the places of rendezvouz being ten in number, all in and about the city, were appointed: but it happened again that the army received information of the conspiracy the evening before it should have been executed[1], and being alarmed

[1] Mercurius Politicus gives the following account under Dec. 18: 'This night discovery being made of a design which the Cavaliers had to rise this night, and of places where many of them were to meet, search was made accordingly; and at the White-horse neer Moorgate (whereabout a strong party of horse was appointed to embody) about twenty horse, with warlike furniture in the stable were surprised, and made prize by the soldiery; and fourteen gentlemen, ready armed, back, breast and head-piece, were taken; the number had been far greater, had not the soldiery come so soon. Also at the Golden Griffin in Shear-

at the danger, they immediately sent divers parties of horse and foot to take possession of those places which were appointed by the enemy for their drawing together; by which means they seized some of them, who at twelve a clock the same night were already come together compleatly arm'd on a part of the Temple near the water side. Others of the same company got over the walls, and escaped in boats. They took also at an inn in London thirty horses with saddles and holsters, and as many men ready to mount them. Many more of the conspirators were taken at the several places of rendezvouz, where the army had placed their guards; and some of them confessed that the officer who commanded the party that was placed near Paul's Church had promised to join with them; which was not improbable, he being one of those who having never engaged in our cause, was advanced by Oliver Cromwel as his creature, and sent to Dunkirk, from whence he had been lately recalled by the army, whose ambition he had thoroughly seconded by his votes in the Council of Officers. And tho this storm was by the vigilance and care of the army pretty well dispersed; yet their insolent and arbitrary actions gave birth to other clouds that threatned them with ruin more than the former. For soon after, the officers that commanded the fleet published a declaration against the arbitrary proceedings

1659 Dec. 18. Dec. 13.

lane ten more in arms were taken; and in the Temple Garden were more, many of which had run away upon hearing of the discovery; only six remained behind, and were apprehended, having newly put off their arms, and hid them in the garden among the bushes. In Thames Street, about the Three Cranes, a great company of foot were to gather, of which eighty met, but escaped all save two, who are in custody, and give an account of the intent of the rest. Divers others were met in the streets in small companies, and pickt up as they were going to their confederates. Towards morning intelligence being brought, that a number of them were drawn forth in equipage at Greenwich Park, under one Col. Culpeper a Kentish man, a party of horse was immediately sent thither; which the Cavaliers (being about eighty horse) having notice of, immediately fled, and only one Mr. Dancer, a cornet, was taken.' Then follows a list of names of prisoners. On the plot see Guizot, ii. 312. The Dunkirk officer referred to was probably Sir Bryce Cochrane.

1659 of the Wallingford House party, rehearsing the particulars for which they had engaged in the publick service[1], and declaring their resolution to continue faithful to those engagements. This declaration came out somewhat earlier than was intended, by reason of the arrival of Col. Okey and Mr. Scot in the fleet, who were obliged to go thither for protection from the power of the army, the former being known to have had the principal share in the design of seizing the Tower for the Parliament: the other was not only suspected to have been concerned in that affair, but also to keep correspondence with the Generals at Portsmouth, and with Col. Monk in Scotland. The army hoping to quiet the fleet with fair words and large promises dispatched Col. Barrow to them, supposing him to be a proper person to be imployed to lay them asleep, because they knew he had the good opinion of Vice-Admiral Lawson, and indeed not undeservedly, for he was a man of probity; and tho he had been in some measure seduced by their subtleties, yet he was not a confident of their junto. But the Vice-Admiral was too well acquainted with the pernicious designs of the army to be cajoled into a retractation of what he had done.

The Cavalier party about London finding themselves disappointed in their design of destroying the army by an insurrection, attempted to do it in another way, and to that end encouraged the apprentices to meet in great multitudes to petition the Aldermen and Common Council[2], that they

[1] The Declaration of the fleet under the command of Admiral Lawson, dated Dec. 13, is printed in Mercurius Politicus, Dec. 22–29, p. 975; Baker, p. 698; Public Intelligencer, p. 967.

[2] The substance of the petition circulated amongst the apprentices is given in The Weekly Intelligencer for Dec. 6–13. It demands either a free Parliament or the restoration of the Secluded Members. On Dec. 1, the Committee of Public Safety issued a proclamation 'prohibiting the contrivance or subscription of papers, under colour of petitions, for the promoting of designs dangerous to the Commonwealth' (printed in the Public Intelligencer, Nov. 28–Dec. 5). The Lord Mayor issued a proclamation ordering masters of families to keep their sons and servants quiet (Dec. 3). On Monday, Dec. 5, a riot took place caused by the attempt to publish the Committee's proclamation in London. Weekly Intelligencer, Nov. 29–Dec. 6. Cf. Guizot, ii. 298, 302, 305; Baker, p. 697.

would use their endeavours to procure a free Parliament to be speedily called, well knowing what the consequence of that would be in the present conjuncture of affairs. Many men of the King's party, and of desperate fortunes, intermixed themselves with them, and inflamed them to such a height of violence, that the army thought it necessary to send a regiment of foot to suppress them under the command of Col. Hewetson; who when he was come into the City, was affronted to his face, his men fired upon from the windows, and stones thrown on them from the tops of the houses; and as they proceeded in their march were so pressed by the multitude, that the souldiers to preserve themselves from their violence, were obliged to fire upon them, and having killed three or four of their number, the rest dispersed themselves for that time: but tumults were now become so frequent in the City, that the army-party found themselves obliged to send considerable guards thither almost every day to suppress them; one of which being commanded by Col. Desborough, carried themselves so roughly towards divers eminent citizens, that they greatly disgusted the whole City. The Aldermen and Common Council not thinking it convenient openly to patronize these disorders, agreed upon a paper to be presented to the Council of Officers, wherein having disowned the late tumults, they complained of the killing of their men, and of the guards that were kept in the City, desiring that they might be withdrawn, and the guard of the City left to the civil magistrate, who could not otherwise undertake to secure the peace, and that a free Parliament might be forthwith called. This paper was brought to the Council of Officers by divers members of the court of Aldermen and of the Common Council; and being read, it was resolved by those of the army, that if the Aldermen and Common Council would declare against the family of the Stuarts, and promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth without a King, single person, or House of Lords, they would withdraw their souldiers, and leave the City to be guarded by it self. They acquainted them also that

1659 Dec. 5. Dec. 10.

1659 they had already resolved to call a Parliament: and for the farther satisfaction of the Aldermen and Common Council, they appointed six of their own number, whereof they constrained me to be one, to confer with them touching the reasons of these resolutions, and of the late proceedings of
Dec. 12. the army in the City. We met at Whitehal, and after Col. Desborough had spent some time in shewing the necessity of sending part of the army to secure the peace of the City, and had made large protestations of the army's friendship to them, I took the liberty to say that those who were members of the army could best inform them of their own intentions in the late proceedings in the City, wherein I should not intermeddle; but having this opportunity, and being a well-wisher to the Commonwealth, I would take upon me to put them in mind, that we had all been engaged together in the defence of our rights and liberties against arbitrary power; that the City had been eminently instrumental in assisting the Parliament and army to carry on that weighty affair, whereby they had acquired honour to themselves, esteem amongst good men, and satisfaction in their own minds. But withal it ought to be considered that by this they had highly incensed and vehemently provoked the common enemy against them, who tho they might caress them for the present, and make them the most solemn promises of future kindness, would never forget the aid and support they had afforded to the Parliament during the whole course of the late war; but would certainly take a time to be revenged on them to the utmost. Wherefore I desired them, as they tendred the peace of the nation, and the preservation of their persons and estates, that they would not suffer themselves to be deluded by our common adversaries, and seduc'd by specious pretences to promote that interest, which prevailing, would not only render all the blood and treasure that had been spent in asserting our liberties of no use to us, but also force us under such a yoke of servitude, that neither we nor our posterity should be able to bear. Divers of them seemed much surprized at this discourse, because

they had taken other resolutions; yet others, and par- 1659
ticularly Alderman Fowke, expressed their approbation of what I had said, and declared their resolution to act accordingly, provided they might be assured not to be governed by an army, in which I assured them my judgment concurred with them, which my actions should always demonstrate. And as I did upon all publick occasions endeavour to perswade our divided parties to unite for their common safety, so I am not sensible that I neglected any private opportunity to bring about that end. Therefore when I waited on Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, which frequently happened, I never failed to exhort him during this unhappy breach, that he would use his endeavours for the restitution of the Parliament. About which being one day somewhat earnest with him, and having acquainted him that finding my good offices between the Parliament-men and the army were likely to prove ineffectual, I was resolved to go to my station in Ireland; his lady over-hearing these last words from her chamber, and being inform'd that I was alone with the Lieutenant-General, she came into the room where we were, and with tears began to lament the present condition of her husband[1], who, she said, had been always unwilling to do any thing in opposition to the Parliament, assuring me that he was utterly ignorant of the contrivance of the officers at Darby to petition the Parliament in so insolent a manner, and had not had any part in their proceedings upon it afterwards: that, as to her self she had always solicited him to comply in all things with the orders of the Parliament; and that fearing the consequences of the petition from Darby, she had taken the original, and locked it up in her cabinet, where it still

[1] This was Cromwell's daughter Bridget. Fleetwood's first wife, Frances, daughter of Thomas Smith of Winston, Norfolk, was buried Nov. 24, 1651. He married his second on June 8, 1652. A newsletter dated June 12, 1652, says, 'Lieut.-General Fleetwood was married Tuesday last to the Lady Ireton.' Clarke MSS. xxii. 105. This seems to dispose of the story told by Mrs. Hutchinson (Life of Col. Hutchinson, ii. 189, ed. 1885), as Fleetwood was not nominated to command in Ireland till July 8, 1652. Ireton had died on Nov. 26, 1651.

1659 was[1]. She desired me to defer my journy to Ireland till differences should be composed between the Parliament and the army, saying that she knew I had an interest in both, which she hoped I would improve for the good of both, and not forget to do what good offices I could for her husband, who she said had always expressed a great friendship for me. I confess I was moved with the discourse of the lady, and could have been contented to put off my journey to Ireland some time longer, if I had not clearly seen it impossible to adjust the differences between our contending parties. For the army instead of hearkning to an accommodation, had not only resolved to call a new Parlia-
Dec. 14. ment, but also published a proclamation[2] to appoint the day and place of their meeting. Besides, I was under no small apprehensions that disorders might arise amongst the officers in Ireland, which was my peculiar province, and therefore I resolved to hasten my departure, and acquainted the Lieutenant-General that my resolution was fixed, at which both he and his lady seemed much troubled. The next morning I went with Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway to the chamber of the Horse Guard at Whitehal, where the principal officers used to meet, in order to take leave of them, and to let them know how much we were dissatisfied with the measures they had taken: but when we came there, we found them under great confusion, by
Dec. 17. reason of the certain information they had received, that
Dec. 13. the fleet had unanimously declared for the restitution of the Parliament. This news had wrought such an alteration in them, that they expressed to us their readiness to comply with the desires of the fleet, so it might be done upon convenient terms, and earnestly importuned Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway to go down to the fleet with some of their party to treat with the commanders at sea about that

[1] Phillips, who inserts the text of the petition in his continuation of Baker's Chronicle, asserts that it was never before printed (p. 677).

[2] The Proclamation issued by the Committee of Safety to summon a Parliament for Jan. 24 is printed in the Publick Intelligencer, Dec. 12–19. It is dated Dec. 14.

affair. Sir Henry Vane, who was always ready to promote the service of the publick, accepted the imployment without any hesitation, tho the weather was then extreme sharp, it being in the midst of winter, and he distempered with a great cold: to him were joined Major Saloway and Col. Salmon with powers from the officers of the army to treat with those of the fleet; where after they had spent four or five days in that negotiation, they returned to make their report to those who had desired them to undertake that trouble, which to the best of my remembrance was to this effect: that at their first coming on board, Mr. Scot declined to speak with them, and Col. Okey used them more roughly; but that by the perswasions of Vice-Admiral Lawson they did at last consent to a conference, where they appeared very averse to any proposal of terms to be made with the Parliament before their readmission, insisting upon the absolute submission of the army to the authority of the Parliament [1]. 1659 Dec. 17.

Another difficulty arose touching the commissioners to be appointed by the fleet to treat with an equal number of the army, about the restitution of the Parliament; and the Vice-Admiral having proposed Sir Henry Vane, Major Saloway, Mr. Scot, and himself, for that purpose, Mr. Scot excepted against Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway, as persons that had too far espoused the interest of the army. But the prudence and moderation of Vice-Admiral Lawson removed these obstructions, and prevailed with Mr. Scot to comply. The officers of the army gave thanks to Sir Henry Vane and the rest of the commissioners for their labour and good service, which made me conceive some hopes of a speedy accommodation, since there now seemed little more remaining to be done by the army but to nominate their four commissioners, for which they took time till the afternoon. But so ripe were these men for destruction, and so abandoned of every reasonable thought,

[1] An account of these conferences is given in a Narrative of the Proceedings of the Fleet, &c., published in 1659, and reprinted in Penn's Memorials of Sir William Penn, ii. 186.

1659 that they knew not how to make use of this opportunity; and instead of naming persons to treat about the restitution of the Parliament, they used all the arts imaginable to prevail with the Council of Officers to vote a new Parliament to be called, wherein they succeeded so much, that one of the principal of them told me in the afternoon, that he had altered his opinion, and was fully convinced that the restitution of the Parliament was the very worst remedy that could be applied to the distempers of the nation. After they had taken this resolution, I resolved upon my journey for Ireland with all expedition; and having made the necessary preparations for my departure, I went into the chamber where the Council of Officers accustomed to meet, and there freely told them, that the measures they had resolved to take, if pursued, would certainly bring ruin on themselves, and possibly on the people of England [1]. Hereupon Col. Desborow took me aside, and proposed for an expedient, to make choice of sixty persons of the best and ablest of the old Parliament to be the select senate that should have a negative upon the representative. To which I answered, that I hoped the members of the Parliament aimed only at the promotion of the publick good, and not at the advancement of themselves to places of power; but if that could be supposed to be the disease of any of them, yet the late experience they had of the uselesness and vanity of the Other House, who made themselves only the objects of scorn and pity, would be sufficient to caution them against treading in their steps, and entring into a contest and competition with those that represented the whole nation, without any other support

[1] 'They are not willing to understand what great and faithful service Lt.-Gen. Ludlow and others performed at their meeting with the officers at Wallingford House, by breaking and disturbing their counsels and resolutions. . . . And when contrary to reason they had resolved something about conservators, senate and Parliament, it is well known that Lt.-Gen. Ludlow the next day made his protestation against it, and said they would be necessitated to restore the Parliament, and the sooner they did it the better.' A Sober Vindication of Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow.

but that of the army, of whose unfaithfulness they had already made such evident discoveries. The same day in the evening Lieutenant-Col. Walker, whom I had desired to go to Wallingford House, and to bring me an account of their last result before my departure, came to me with news that they had again changed their measures, and finally resolved upon the restitution of the Parliament, pretending for the reason of this great alteration, that Lieutenant-General Fleetwood had been extremely disturbed in his mind the night before, in contemplation of the mischiefs that were likely to ensue if they should proceed upon their former resolution. But most men believed that the true reasons of this sudden change were taken from the submission of their forces that had been sent to besiege Portsmouth, to the Generals of the Parliament, who had possessed themselves of that place; whereof they having received an account, began to despair of subsisting any longer in opposition to the Parliament. The manner of their deserting the service of the army was thus. They generally thought the differences between the parties not sufficiently important to warrant any actions of open hostility, especially the horse, who in the absence of the colonel were commanded by Major Bremen, major to Col. Rich his regiment[1]. He having sounded the inclinations of the souldiers, and informed divers of them of their duty, gave advice of his proceedings to the Colonel, who perceiving the officers of the fleet, and many of those of the army, to desire the return of the Parliament, went down privately from London to his regiment. Being arrived before Portsmouth, and finding both horse and foot prepared for his design, he gave notice of his intentions

1659

Dec. 20.

[1] John Bremen (or Brayman), once a trooper in Col. Rich's regiment and an Agitator in 1647, became subsequently a lieutenant, and was cashiered in 1655 for complicity in what was known as Overton's plot. In June, 1659, he was restored with the rank of captain, and became major of Rich's regiment. He was arrested in April, 1660, for complicity with Lambert, and again in May, 1662, for his share in a supposed rising against Charles II. In 1682 he was imprisoned on account of the Rye House plot. See Clarke Papers, i. 79.

1659 to Sir Arthur Haslerig and the rest of the commanders in the place, who having caused the gate to be opened, Col. Rich with the forces that had hitherto lain before the town as enemies, marched in and joined themselves to the Parliament's Generals. The next morning after the news of this event was brought to London, the army-party summoned a Council of Officers, consisting not only of the standing forces, but also of the City militia, and proposed to them an instrument to sign, whereby they should engage to stand by each other, notwithstanding the return of the Parliament. The officers seemed unwilling to subscribe the paper, and therefore it was not peremptorily required; but being permitted to give their approbation by votes, they passed it without many negatives. Whilst this matter was under debate, letters were brought to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, which after he had read, he called me aside, and acquainting me with the contents of them, he delivered them to me, and desired I would keep them private. The substance of them was, that a party of the army in Ireland had possessed themselves of the
Dec. 13. Castle of Dublin, seized on Col. Jones who commanded in my absence, taken the Commissioners into custody, and
Dec. 14. published a declaration for the Parliament, of which a copy was inclosed in the letters[1]. Therein they declared the reasons of their proceedings to be grounded on their desires to relieve the nation from the government of the sword, which they saw was endeavoured to be established not only in England, but also in Ireland, even by those who had lately signed an address to the Parliament, and sent it over by their Commander-in-Chief as they were yet pleased to call me. They acknowledged the guilt of those who had offered violence to the civil authority, and their own unworthiness so far as they might have contributed to keep them from the exercise of their just power, promising to yield obedience to their commands for the future, and

[1] The Declaration of the Irish officers is printed in Mercurius Politicus, December 22–29, p. 987. A second declaration was published on December 28 (ib. 1031).

declaring their resolution to join with the Generals at Portsmouth, Col. Monk, and Vice-Admiral Lawson, in order to procure the restitution of the Parliament. Having read this declaration, and finding it to agree with my sense of the publick affairs, and signed by my brother-in-law Col. Kempson, with many others of known integrity, I could not refuse to give it my approbation: but when I had considered that it was also subscribed by Col. Theophilus Jones, who upon all occasions had shewed himself a principal instrument of mischief amongst us, and by Col. Bridges and others, who had been very active to support the usurpation of the Cromwels, I became doubtful what judgment to make of it. However, having seen things brought to an issue in England, I concluded it to be my duty to hasten to my charge in Ireland, that if their intentions were just and honest, I might encourage and assist them; and if I should find them otherwise inclined, that I might endeavour to reduce them to their duty. Therefore having taken leave of my friends and relations, I departed from London, and being on my way to Chester in order to imbark for Ireland, I received letters by a messenger sent on purpose from my brother Kempson, by which I understood that the surprizal of Dublin had been principally contrived and carried on by Col. Bridges[1], Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, Major Warden, Major Warren, Capt. Joyner, and Col. Theophilus Jones: that the pretence of their meeting together at Dublin was to petition for a General Council of Officers, that the sense of the army there touching the publick affairs might be fairly collected and represented. Those who had the immediate 1659

[1] Col. John Bridges, the friend of Richard Baxter, who styles him 'a pious prudent gentleman.' 'The reward that Col. Bridges had for this service was the peaceful testimony of his conscience, and a narrow escape from being utterly ruined; being sued as one that after Edgehill fight had taken the king's goods, in an action of fourscore thousand pounds; but all was proved false, and he being cleared by the court, did quickly after die of a fever at Chester, and go to a more desirable world.' Reliquiae Baxterianae, pp. 88, 105. Bridges published a narrative of the surprise of Dublin Castle.

1659 management of things in Ireland having refused to grant their request, the officers above-mentioned resolved to put their design in execution; and having gained the greatest part of a foot company that was quartered in the armory near the iron gate of the castle, they ordered three of the private souldiers who were best known to the sentinel that was upon the guard, to desire him to open the gate, and to let them in to do some business which they pretended to have in the castle. But so soon as the sentinel had opened the gate, the three souldiers secured him, and immediately after the rest of their confederates, with Major Warden at the head of them, rushed in and surprized the guard. Being thus possessed of the castle, they seized upon Col. John Jones, and sent Major Warren to take into his custody Mr. Corbet and Col. Thomlinson, the other two Commissioners, which he did as they were coming from the church. My brother Kempson was at this time in my lodgings in the castle, and heard nothing of this action till some of the principal persons concerned came to him, and acquainted him with what had passed, desiring him to join with them, which he thought fit to promise. Then they sent to Sir Hardress Waller, giving him an account of their success, and desired his assistance, tho he had not been made acquainted with their design[1]. My brother also informed me, that tho he had contributed towards drawing up the declaration of this party to the best advantage he could for the publick interest, yet he was so unsatisfied with the spirit and principles of these men, that he was very hardly perswaded to sign it. The horse that were in the town had for the most part joined with this party; but a company of foot of Col. Lawrence his regiment being

[1] Waller's conduct was very ambiguous. On Jan. 6, 1660, he addressed a letter to Lenthall congratulating him on the declaration of the Irish army for the Parliament, and saying that Ludlow was the only obstacle to the completion of the work. Report on the Portland MSS. i. 693. On the other hand, the charge against Waller, presented by Dr. Ralph King, Advocate-General of the forces in Ireland, represents Waller as acting throughout in alliance with Fleetwood and Lambert. Trinity College Dublin MS. F. 3. 18. p. 759.

got together upon this alarm, and solicited to declare with 1659
them for the Parliament, made answer, that they knew not what Parliament they meant; but that they were resolved to be faithful to the Parliament, and to me their Commander-in-Chief. In these words most of the forces in Ireland afterwards declared; and Sir Hardress Waller desired my brother Kempson to let me know, that he had carried his life in his hand, and hazarded all in this affair for my sake. And that there might be no want of protestations, Major Warden himself told my brother, that tho I thought him a Cavalier, yet I should find him as faithful to the Commonwealth as any man. Yet for all this my brother acquainted me, that he much doubted the sincerity of their intentions, and the rather, because Sir Charles Coote had seized Galway, and turned out Col. Sadler the governour of that place; that he had imprisoned Major Ormisby, an officer of courage and honesty, and had drawn together a considerable body both of horse and foot, consisting chiefly of the English Irish. Therefore he concluded that I would lose no time, but hasten to them with all possible expedition. Having received this account of the affairs of Ireland, and being perswaded that Sir Arthur Haslerig was like to have a great influence upon the publick counsels, I sent him a copy of my letter, and earnestly desired him to take care not to be seduced, by fair promises and specious pretences, to strengthen the hands of those in whom he never had found, nor was like to find, any just grounds of confidence. Before my departure from Chester I made a visit, and took leave of Col. Croxton governour of that place, who, as he had always done, gave me all possible demonstration of his affection to the Commonwealth. From thence I went to Beaumaris, where I found a ship of war carrying about thirty guns, commanded by Capt. Aldworth[1]. And tho I had no order from any superiour powers, yet the captain promised, if he could get out of the harbour, to set sail for

[1] The Oxford frigate, Captain Abraham Allgate; see Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, pp. 301, 308, 311-4, 316.

1659 Ireland the next morning. Which having done according
Dec. 30. to his promise, we cast anchor the day after in the Bay of Bullock over against my House at Moncktown. But not thinking it prudent to go ashore till I had farther informed my self of the state of affairs, I writ a letter
Dec. 31. to Sir Hardress Waller, and the rest of the officers, to acquaint them, that the Parliament being again restored to their authority, according to their desires expressed in their address and late declaration, wherein I concurred in judgment with them, I was come over to join with them, and to afford them my assistance to accomplish those things for which they had declared[1]. This letter I sent to them by our deputy-advocate; and when the boat went off, Capt. Aldworth caused his guns to be fired, which gave notice to those at Dublin of my arrival. At the return of the boat my brother Kempson, accompanied by divers officers, came on board and informed me, that the affairs of Ireland were in a much worse condition than at the time he had written to me in England, by reason of the prevalency of Sir Charles Coote, who with one or two more influenced the whole Council of Officers as they pleased; and that all those who had been displaced for debauchery or disaffection, had joined with him: by which means divers officers of known affection to the publick had been obliged to quit their posts, and yield their garisons to his creatures: that Col. Brayfield governour of Athlone having refused to surrender that place to Sir Charles Coote, he had drawn his forces before it, and by tampering with some of the garison, and falsely affirming that the governour would deliver them up to him, he had prevailed with them to set open the gates of the castle, and to betray their governour into his hands: that upon this encouragement he had marched to Dublin with a considerable body of horse, amongst whom he had distributed a great sum of money to secure them to his interest: that the like success had attended divers others of his associates in several parts of that country, particularly that Col. Edmund Temple

[1] Ludlow's letter to Waller is printed in the Appendix.

had possessed himself of Carlo, whereof Col. Pretty was governour: that Capt. Lisle had dispossessed Lieutenant-Colonel Desborow of Drogheda; and that Major Wilson had seized Limerick, whereof Col. Nelson had been made governour by me[1]. That Major Stanley whom I had permitted upon his request to stay in the citadel of Clonmel till his wife, who was ready to lie down, should be brought to bed, had made use of the opportunity to possess himself of that place: that Col. Cooper, whom I had entrusted to command some forces in the North, had fallen sick upon the late change, and was since dead; and that his lieutenant-colonel had been seized by a party of his own souldiers, and brought prisoner to Dublin, where a sum of money was given to them for that service: and that Lieutenant-Colonel Fowke, with the assistance of the Cavalier party, had seized upon Youghal. My brother also informed me, that Sir Charles Coote and those who had seized the power into their hands, had prevailed with the Council of Officers to pass a vote not to receive me as Commander-in-Chief till the pleasure of the Parliament should be signified to them, pretending me to be an enemy to the Parliament, and in the interest of the army. In the mean time Col. Phair governour of Cork, Col. Saunders governour of Kinsale, Col. Richards governour of Wexford, and Lieutenant-Colonel Arnop governour of Inniskillin, had declared for the Parliament, but refused to obey the orders of those at Dublin. In this confusion were the affairs of Ireland, two parties contending, and accounting each other enemies, and yet both declaring for the Parliament. Having received this information and being fully convinced of the ill intentions of this party, however they sought to disguise their actions under the specious pretext of affection to the Parliament, since I could not do what I desired for the publick service, yet I resolved to endeavour to act as I ought in the discharge of that trust which the Parliament had reposed in me. And to

1659 Dec. 15.

[1] See letter of the Mayor of Limerick to Sir Henry Ingoldsby. Portland MSS. i. 688.

1659 that end I writ letters, and directed them to the commanders of garisons, and to the officers of regiments, of whose fidelity I had the best assurance, acquainting them with the return of the Parliament to the exercise of their authority, assuring them of my constant affections to the Parliament, and my resolution to adhere to them, requiring the commanders and officers of the respective garisons and regiments, as they valued the cause of God and their country, to continue faithful to the Parliament, and to withdraw from those, who under pretence of declaring for the Parliament, had usurped the power, which they designed to use for their destruction, and for the re-establishment of arbitrary power amongst us. Therein I also ordered them to draw into considerable bodies, if possible, and to defend themselves against those who should adventure to attack them; and if they should be over-power'd, to draw towards Munster, where I would endeavour, with what force I could get together, to give them my assistance, promising to justify them in their refusal to obey any of those who derived not their authority from the Parliament or me. These letters I put into the hands of one Mildmay, who had accompanied my brother Kempson to me, with orders to deliver them as they were directed, which he promised faithfully to perform. The
1660 next morning one of my servants, whom I had sent to buy
Jan. 1. some provisions for us, returned on board, and informed me, that as soon as those at Dublin had received notice of my arrival, they sent a party of horse to my house, with orders to seize me; who not finding me there, had marched towards the sea-side, where they lay privately, in hopes to surprize me at my landing. Notwithstanding which our boat, being well manned and armed, came back safe to the ship with some provisions. The next day we
Jan. 2. saw a vessel coming from England, which proving to be the packet-boat, I opened the mail, and found therein more plainly what I suspected before, especially in one of the letters to Col. Theophilus Jones, wherein some mention being made of the affairs of Charles Stuart, it was thus

corrected, 'but no more of that till the next summer.' This letter with some others I kept, and permitted the master of the packet-boat to carry the rest to the town. About noon Capt. Lucas came to me on board with an answer to the letter I had sent the day before to the officers at Dublin[1], wherein they expressed great joy for the restitution of the Parliament, and acquainted me with the resolution of their Council of Officers concerning me, on suspicion that I had taken part with the army against the Parliament. They also informed me, that they had dispatched a message to the Parliament's Generals, for orders from them, or the Parliament, for their future conduct, desiring in the mean time that I would, for avoiding inconveniences, retire into England, protesting themselves ready to obey me as their Commander-in-Chief so soon as the pleasure of the Parliament, or their Generals, should be signified to that purpose. This messenger gave me also the copy of a letter from Col. Monk to Col. John Jones, which, he said, had been found amongst the Colonel's papers at the time when he was seized, by which Monk endeavoured to perswade him of his affection to the cause of the Commonwealth, with a solemn profession of his resolution to be true and faithful to the Parliament, and to oppose to the death the setting up a King, single person, or House of Lords. Capt. Lucas being ready to return to Dublin, I gave him my reply to the answer he brought me from the officers, appealing to their own consciences for my adherence and affection to the Parliament, telling them, that the duty of my charge would not permit me to return to England in such a conjuncture: that I had received my commission from the Parliament, and did not find that it enjoined me to obey the commands of those who for the most part had no commissions from them: that I was resolved to prosecute, as far as I was able, the ends of my commission for the service of the Parliament, by whom I was entrusted; requiring them to forbear any opposition against me, as they would answer for the blood that might 1660

[1] For this letter see Appendix.

1660 be shed in the dispute. I acquainted Capt. Lucas with the substance of my letter; who thereupon proposed, that seeing I was confident of my good intentions, and that both my self and those at Dublin aimed at the same thing, I would go to them, and by satisfying their scruples, adjust the differences between us. But I told him, that I was too well informed of their principles and designs to put my self into their hands. 'Then,' said he, 'you do not think us to be for the Parliament?' 'No indeed,' said I; 'and it is most manifest to me, that the design of those who now govern the Council of Officers, tho at present it be covered with pretences for the Parliament, is to destroy both them and their friends, and to bring in the son of the late King.'

Jan. 3. Perceiving the passage to Dublin to be barr'd against me, and being disappointed of some farther provisions that I had sent for, the enemy, for such they had declared themselves to me, not permitting them to be brought on board, I resolved to try if I could find reception from any other garison on the coast, hoping that the Parliament would in a short time take off the pretended objection against me, that I was an enemy to them. Or if they should so far abandon the care of their own safety, to leave the power in the hands of these usurpers, I should yet have the satisfaction of having done all that I could to discharge the trust they had placed in me. But before I departed from the Bay of Dublin, I dispatched a relation of my wife to England by the packet-boat, with letters for the Parliament, wherein I gave them the best account I could of the state of affairs in Ireland, and desired their instructions how to govern my self in so nice a conjuncture; assuring them, that as I had never been solicitous to procure the employment wherein their favour had placed me, so I could be well contented to withdraw from that publick station if they should think fit to recal me from it. To these letters I added others for Sir Arthur Haslerig and Mr. Scot, with copies of some of the letters which I had intercepted coming from England for those at Dublin. Having dispatched the packet-boat, we set sail

for Duncannon, where I had placed one Capt. Skynner to command, in whom I had great confidence, and the next morning about eight or nine of the clock we were in view of the shoar near Wexford. Being come within a league of Duncannon, and not knowing in whose hands that place might be in this strange revolution of affairs, I sent a messenger to Capt. Alland, whom I had made governour of the fort at Passage, to be informed by him of their condition. The next morning our messenger returned with the captain and two or three more, who acquainted me, that tho no means had been left unattempted to procure the fort of Duncannon to be delivered to those at Dublin, that Capt. Skynner had constantly refused to obey any orders not proceeding from the Parliament or me. He also informed me, that Col. Richards governour of Wexford[1], Col. Phair governour of Cork, and Col. Saunders governour of Kinsale, had acted in the like manner, and that he had hopes that those of Waterford would also declare for me, having promised so to do when I should arrive. But that the person I had intrusted with the command of Kilkenny had been frighted out of his government; and that Lieutenant-Col. Hurd, who had been removed for his vicious life and disaffection to the publick, was got into the place. Being informed of these particulars, I landed the same day in the evening at Duncannon, where I was received with great demonstrations of joy by Capt. Skynner the governour, and the garison, who at my arrival fired their guns round the fort, and were answered by those from our ship of war that lay in the harbour, by which means those of Waterford had notice of my landing. Doubting what the issue of things might be, I took a view of the place; and

1660 Jan. 3. Jan. 4. Jan. 5. Jan. 5.

[1] Col. Solomon Richards was subsequently given the command of a regiment of foot by James II in Sept. 1688 when he was courting the Presbyterians. Richards went over to William III, and was despatched with Col. Cuningham to reinforce the garrison of Londonderry (April 1689), but both were persuaded by Lundy not to land their regiments, and were consequently cashiered on returning to England. Harris, Life of William III, 202-3; Luttrell, Diary, i. 464, 519, 526, 541; Swift's Works, ed. 1824, viii. 400; Ninth Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm. ii. 129, 141, 150, 164.

1660 having perceived that the garison was not sufficiently provided either with men or provisions, I took the best care I could for their supply. To this end one of the officers having engaged to bring in the greatest part of a foot company in the regiment of Col. Stephens, I sent him out with orders to that purpose. I dispatched a messenger also to my tenants at Bally-Magger, which lay not far from us, to desire them to furnish me with corn, beef, and other necessaries. I revictualled our man of war, whose provisions were almost spent, and borrowed divers sums of money of my friends in the parts adjacent, which I knew to be of singular use in case of extremity. Having done this, I sent letters to Col. Leigh governour of Waterford, and to the rest of the officers there, acquainting them with the restitution of the Parliament, and with my arrival at Duncannon, in order to promote their service, wherein I required them to afford me their assistance. I wrote letters also to Col. Puckle governour of Ross, to the same effect, and dispatched others to Col. Richards, Col. Phair, and Col. Saunders, to encourage them to continue to act as they had hitherto done. From Waterford I had a civil return to my message brought by some of their officers, who came to make me a visit; but I could not get a positive answer from them to the contents of my letter. And I still insisting that they would declare themselves, they sent one Capt. Bolton and three other persons to me, desiring that I would satisfy them touching the objection that had been given out against me, that I was an enemy to the Parliament; which having done, as I might well, they departed in appearance well satisfied. In the mean time Col. Temple with some horse was ordered to block up the fort of Duncannon; and having possessed himself of the ways leading to it, one of his parties stopped some country people that were bringing some black cattle for the use of the garison; which having perceived, I ordered a party of foot, being altogether destitute of horse, to go by a short way, and to post themselves in a pass through which they were to return: and

tho they came too late to recover the cattle, yet they prevailed with divers of the party to come to me into the fort, where they assured me that they had been brought before us merely in obedience to their superior officers, and were much troubled at the differences amongst us; they acknowledged that they had long served under me, and were more willing to continue to do so still, than to serve under any other person; and that understanding that both the contending parties waited for the signification of the Parliament's pleasure concerning the publick affairs, they promised to withdraw from the fort, and to come no more against us. By which it may farther appear how unwilling the forces on both sides were to come to any open acts of hostility, it being not easy for men in an ordinary station, unacquainted with publick counsels, and of ordinary capacities, so soon to discern the way to their duty through the specious pretences of each party. But the cabal at Dublin resolving to carry on their wicked design by force, if they could not do it by fraud, displaced by their own usurped authority all the field officers of the army, except Major Ed. Warren, with most of the other officers that the Parliament had commissionated, filling their places with the most vicious and disaffected persons they could find[1]. 1660

[1] 'Let the impartial reader judge whether Lt. G. Ludlow or his antagonists have manifested most constant good affection to their just authority; and for modern suspition, what mean the letters from Dublin that many of the officers there will have a Free Parliament? What means the imprisonment of the Parliament's constant servants and champions, Jones, Tomlinson, Pretty, Wallis, Abbot, Brafield, Jones, Smith, Bennet, Lowe, Dennison, Roberts, and others, many whereof declared with the first, and yet might not be trusted with their commands? What means the self-conferring of two regiments upon Sir Hardress Waller, two upon Sir Charles Coot, and three upon his brothers? so as upon the matter, two men have seven regiments. What means the disarming of the Anabaptists and the Parliament's best friends, that they must not wear a sword, saying they are Sectarians and not fit to be trusted? . . . What means the listing and taking in of Cavaliers, persons disaffected to the Parliament, and any that will revile the Sectarists? but onely to model and put the army in such a posture and constitution to be in a prepared readiness to receive Charles Stuart at a week's warning, though that must not yet be mentioned, the design must be first to bring in the excluded members in 1648, and then comes in ding dong

1660 Which having done, they caused a report to be published, that Sir Charles Coote with a considerable force would come to besiege me in Duncannon, whereby they obtained this advantage, that our enemies in Waterford were incouraged to appear openly, and our friends, uncertain of the event, would not venture to declare themselves. Besides, Col. Leigh their governour began now openly to side with those at Dublin, either from his malice to me for reproving him formerly for his zeal in supporting the usurpation of Cromwel, or from a selfish principle that was natural to him of joining always with the rising party; tho being an Anabaptist, he might have considered, that he was not likely to find much favour with the grandees at Dublin.

The enemy, as had been before reported, drew down before Duncannon; and Capt. Scot, son to Mr. Scot a member of the Parliament, whom I have had occasion frequently to mention, sent a letter to inform me, that being appointed by the officers at Dublin to reduce the place to the obedience of the Parliament, he was come thither to that purpose. Having read his letter, I wrote an answer to it, and communicated them both to the officers and souldiers of the garison. In my answer I told him that we were really for that, which they only pretended as a colour to worse designs; that I acted by the authority of the Parliament, and should endeavour faithfully to discharge my duty; requiring them forthwith to depart, and return to the obedience of those to whom they owed it, as they would answer the contrary to God and man. I desired the captain to communicate my answer to those that were with him, as I assured him I had done his letter to the officers and souldiers of my garison. Whilst these things were doing, Sir Charles Coote, Col. Theophilus Jones, and the rest of the cabal at Dublin, sent one Capt. Campbel to Col. Monk to acquaint him with the progress they had made [1], upon which he caused the

bells, King, Lords and Commons.' A Sober Vindication, p. 2.

[1] Campbell reached Monk on Dec. 28. Monk kept a day of thanksgiving for the good news on Dec. 29. See his letter to Parliament, Dec. 29; Mercurius Politicus, p. 1010. Cf. Baker, p. 698; Gumble, Life of Monk, p. 182.

cannon at Berwick to be fired in testimony of his joy, and sent back the messenger to them with letters of thanks for their good service, desiring them not to restore the Commissioners of the Parliament, whom they had seized, to the exercise of their authority: but as I afterwards understood by some of Coote's party, he mentioned nothing concerning me in his letters, not knowing, as I presume, but that I might be in a condition to retard, if not totally obstruct his grand design, as probably I had done, with the blessing of God, if the Parliament had not abandoned me and their own interest at the same time, by the influence of Monk's party in the House. The junto at Dublin being very desirous to remove me from the post where I was, called a Council of Officers; and having drawn up a letter to justify their proceedings against me, they procured it to be signed and sent to me from the council [1], endeavouring therein to defame me with all possible malice, charging me with neglecting the duty of my imployment in Ireland, when upon the late interruption of the Parliament I had rather chosen to continue my journy to London than to return to the discharge of my office; accusing me for divers passages in my letters which they had intercepted; in one of which, having called Col. John Jones 'dear friend,' they would have it interpreted, that I thereby approved his correspondence with the Wallingford House party: and in another having expressed my desire to moderate things between the Parliament and the army, they improved it to a very great crime, alledging that men ought to obey, and not to capitulate with the Parliament; adding, that when I saw I could do no more in opposition to the Parliament, I had refused to wait their sitting, and departed for Ireland a day or two before their restitution, where I had endeavoured to serve the army by my interest in the disaffected party; that finding Dublin to be secured for the Parliament by those who obeyed their orders, and would obey me as their Commander-in-Chief, if the Parliament thought fit to continue that power to me, I had not

1659 Dec. 29.

1660 Jan. 10.

[1] For this letter see Appendix.

1660 only refused to return to England till their pleasure in that affair might be known, but also had endeavoured by all hostile means to get the power into my hands, at the same time neglecting my duty in Parliament, which they said I might have been doing, had not my miscarriages rendred me uncapable of that honour. Having perused this letter, I thought my self obliged to answer it, as well to clear my self from these calumnies, as to prevent the effect it might otherwise have amongst unwary men, which was especially to be regarded in this conjuncture, because they had taken care to print and disperse their libel against
Jan. 21. me. I told them in my answer[1], that they well knew that in my letters to Col. Jones, which they had intercepted, I had expressed my dislike of his correspondence with the army; tho having received civilities from him, and because he had the sword in his hand, I thought it not imprudent to keep fair with him, which was probably the reason why they themselves were not more plainly dealt with by the Parliament: that notwithstanding their pretences of obedience to the Parliament, I wished I might not see the day when they should positively refuse to obey their commands, to the destruction of their authority, and the advancement of a contrary interest; tho, to serve the present turn, they now blamed me for endeavouring, in the midst of the confusion that the ambition of the army had brought upon us, to moderate things so, that their authority might have been restored, and the publick cause preserved from ruin: that the reasons of my not returning to my command upon advice of the late interruption were; first, because I knew it to be the interest of the Parliament and the army to unite, both being in a certain way to ruin, if they did not; and that therefore I was incouraged to attempt it: and in the next place, because I had seen the letter which was sent from the officers at London to those in Ireland, wherein they declared that they had only obstructed their sitting for a while: thirdly, I hoped at my departure I had left the affairs of Ireland in good hands; and at the worst,

[1] For this answer see Appendix.

I was perswaded it must of necessity follow the fate of England. Lastly, I doubted not that by fixing the Irish Brigade, which was in England, to the interest of the Parliament, I should contribute more to their service, than by the best regulation that could be made of the forces in Ireland: that the cause of my last return to Ireland was taken from the knowledg I had of the persons that had assumed the power into their hands, and the duty that lay upon me to use the best of my endeavours to put a stop to those malignant designs, which I had reason to believe their principles would lead them to carry on: that they must pardon me, if I followed not their advice of returning to England, when I was in the Bay of Dublin, having it not in my instructions to obey them; and being as fully satisfied of their intentions to make use of their power, under pretence of serving the Parliament, to undermine and destroy their friends, as I was that my own endeavours were directed wholly to their service, and that it was my duty, as far as I could, to prosecute the ends of that commission with which they had intrusted me. Before I had sent away this letter, I received the astonishing news that the Parliament had sent to the officers at Dublin an acknowledgment of their service in declaring for them; and about a week after the said officers sent a letter to be delivered to me, signed by William Lenthal Speaker of the Parliament, to desire me by their order[1] to attend the Parliament with an account of the affairs of Ireland, that upon consideration thereof, such a course might be taken, as might secure the publick interest there. Letters to the same effect were written, as I was informed, to Col. John Jones, Col. Thomlinson, and

1660

Jan. 5.

[1] On Jan. 4, 1660, letters from the Irish officers at Dublin, dated 15 and 24 Dec., and a declaration of the officers of that army, were read in the House. On Jan. 5 the House voted that letters should be written to Ludlow, Jones, Corbet, and Thomlinson, to give their attendance on the service of the Parliament, and give an account of their management of affairs in Ireland. It was also resolved 'that this House doth approve of what hath been done by Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Charles Coote, Col. Theophilus Jones, and other officers of the army in Ireland for the service of the Parliament; and that the thanks of this House be given them by a letter for their good service.' C. J. vii. 803.

1660 Mr. Miles Corbet, Commissioners for the Parliament in Ireland. By these letters I perceived that the Parliament was reduced to a dishonourable compliance with those who had got the ascendant over them; and therefore having received their commands to attend them, I resolved to do it as soon as I could, hoping by the account I should give them, to awaken their care, and if they were not wholly infatuated, perswade them to make a timely provision against the dangers that so visibly threatned them with sudden destruction. The enemy thought I would have surrendred the fort of Duncannon into their hands, and to that end used many arguments to induce me to it; but I refused to hearken to that proposition, and acquainted them that the letters I had received rather implied the contrary; and that if the Parliament were as sensible as they ought to be of their interest, I doubted not that Duncannon might prove a good landing-place for an army from England to reduce those in Ireland to their obedience. In the mean time I had caused two or three vessels to cast anchor under the command of the castle, resolving to make use of one of them for my transportation to England; and finding a Dutch bottom commanded by a French-man to be most convenient for my purpose, I agreed with the master of her for my voyage. Before I departed, Capt. Scot, Major Barrington, and some others of those that had blocked us up, desired to speak with me, which I agreed to, and amongst other discourse that deserves not to be mentioned, many of them, and in particular Capt. Scot, tho they had declared for the Parliament, endeavoured to justify the attempt of Sir George Booth, reviling Sir Arthur Haslerig, and divers others who were members of the Parliament: and being asked whether they would fight against Charles Stuart, if he should appear at the head of an army, they refused to explain themselves in that particular: and yet these gentlemen would be thought to be the only champions for the Parliament. Capt. Scot accompanied me to the water-side, where taking leave of Capt. Skinner the governour and the rest of the officers

and souldiers of the garison, I commanded the governour in his presence not to surrender the fort to any person that should not be authorized to receive it by the Parliament or me, wherein I doubted not he would have the assistance of the whole garison, which they unanimously promised. As soon as I was imbarked, Capt. Skinner caused all their cannon to be fired to testify their respects to me; and the wind being very fair, we immediately set sail for England. The next morning we found our selves in view of the Isle of Lundy, and I would willingly have landed at Minhead, but the seas went so high, that we were obliged to put in at Milford Comb[1], where having provided horses for my self and company, we went to Barnstaple, and lay there that night. The day following we passed over Axmore, which was covered with snow, and with much difficulty arrived that night at Laystock, where I was informed that Monk was come to London, and had brought the secluded members into the House, which report had preceded the action; for it was not yet done. But we were assured from better intelligence, that the Parliament, upon consideration of Sir Henry Vane's compliance with the army during the late interruption, had discharged him from being a member, and commanded him to retire from London; and that having reproved Major Saloway for what he had done of the same nature, they had committed him to the Tower during the pleasure of the House[2]. We were also informed that they had granted time to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Col. Sydenham, the Lord Commissioner Whitlock, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Strickland to clear themselves touching their deportment in that affair. I was not

1660

Jan. 9.

Jan. 17.

Jan. 24.

[1] Milford Comb is pretty plainly a misprint for Ilford-Comb, i. e. Ilfracombe, as Ludlow's itinerary shows.

[2] 'Saloway though voted prisoner to the Tower on Tuesday, is not yet gone, because (according to form) the warrant of his commitment is not yet signed; his tears, sighs, supplications, confessions of all secret practices, and humbling his mouth in the dust, mitigating in some measure his eager prosecution; so abject a person in misfortune this age hath not seen, nor any other so insolent in authority.' Mr. Broderick to Sir E. Hyde, Jan. 20, 1660; Clarendon S. P., iii. 654.

1660 a little disturbed at this news, conceiving that the removal of such eminent pillars of the House, as some of these were, would put the whole fabrick into apparent danger of ruin; but being always desirous to think well of their proceedings, I perswaded my self that these measures were the result of the extraordinary zeal of some men to vindicate the least appearance of any breach that might be supposed to have been made upon the privileges of the Parliament. As I was seriously reflecting on these particulars, one of my servants brought me the paper of publick intelligence, wherein I not only perceived the former relation to be confirmed, but also found that the Parliament had received
Jan. 19. a charge of high treason against me, Mr. Miles Corbet, Col. John Jones, and Col. Thomlinson, presented by Col. Bridges, Major Edward Warren, and Capt. Abel Warren, and subscribed by Sir Charles Coote; of which, tho I had heard some flying report whilst I was in Ireland, yet I could not suppose them so abandoned of all shame, as to pursue such a design: but they had learned, that to calumniate abundantly was the way to get something to stick. And here I confess, if I had entred upon the publick service on the account of my own private advantage, I should have been totally discouraged, and perhaps have made the best provision I could for my own safety; but being conscious to my self that I had acted upon better principles, I concluded that the Parliament, who knew my innocence, would not fail to do me justice against my malicious enemies. Thereupon I used all possible diligence in my journey, taking post-horses to that end; insomuch that a person who knew me, meeting me on the road, said, that those who were under an accusation of high treason, were not accustomed to make such haste to present themselves. Being arrived at London, I went not that day to the Parliament, being informed that the House was rising; and because I was desirous to learn as much as I could concerning the state of publick affairs, to which I had been so long a stranger. The most remarkable transactions that had passed in my absence were these following: that Lieutenant-General

Fleetwood finding himself deserted by most part of the army, had sent the keys of the Parliament House to the Speaker, with notice that the guards were withdrawn, and that the members of Parliament might attend the discharge of their duty: that Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, who was in possession of the Tower, had sent also to the Speaker, to acquaint him that he and his garison were ready to receive his orders[1]: that the forces about the town had been mustered in Lincolns-Inn Fields by Col. Alured and Col. Okey, where, after they had declared for the Parliament, they marched by the Speaker's house in Chancery Lane, and saluted him as their General as he stood at his door[2]: that the Speaker had sent Col. Bret and Col. Redmain, who had been discharged for their zeal to the usurpation of Cromwel, to command the Irish Brigade; tho it was well known, that brigade was officer'd with such as were so zealous for the Parliament, that they had refused to engage against Col. Monk, because he had declared for them, and had marched off intirely from the army of Col. Lambert: that Sir Arthur Haslerig and the rest of

1659 Dec. 24.

[1] On Dec. 26, the government of the Tower was committed by Parliament to Cooper, Weaver, Scot, and Berners till further order. C. J. vii. 797.

[2] The scene is thus described in Mercurius Politicus, under Dec. 24: 'According to the orders given yesterday, this afternoon the horse and foot (except those on the guards) which are about town, were rendezvoused in Lincolns-Inn Fields, and there with one consent resolved to live and die with the Parliament, using many high expressions in declaring their resolution. After this they marched in good order down Chancery-lane; at the Speaker's door they made a stand, and several of the principal commanders sending in word that they attended to know his pleasure, his lordship came down to them in his gown to the gate in the street, where standing, the officers as they passed with the forces made speeches to him, signifying in the name of themselves and the whole soldiery, their hearty sorrow for the great defection in this late interruption, with their absolute purpose of a firm adherence for the future; the like was done by the soldiers in their countenances and acclamations to the Speaker as they passed, owning him in words also, on the behalf of the Parliament, as their General and the Father of their country. Hereupon his lordship issued forth orders for disposing of them for the preservation of the peace till the Parliament can assemble, and he also for this night gave them the word, and they gave him many vollies of shot' (p. 978). Cf. Guizot, ii. 319.

1659 the officers from Portsmouth coming into London by the bridg, had passed through the city, where they had been received with so much seeming joy and loud acclamations, that Sir Arthur was observed in particular to be so elevated, that for some time after he could scarce discern his friends from his enemies[1]; whereof my wife had some experience: for she going to give him some account of me and of affairs in Ireland, found him much altered in his carriage to her, saying that God and man having owned them, they must imploy those that would own them. To which she replied, that he seemed to mistake what she had said, and assured him that she was well informed, that as I had never solicited for publick imployment in better times, so I was very remote from any such thoughts in this condition of things. This height of Sir Arthur Haslerig lasted but a few days; for tho the clergy and lawyers, with other disaffected persons, had hitherto kept fair with him, and in appearance reverenced him above all others, that by his assistance they might be able to prevail against the army, or Wallingford House party; yet so soon as they were free from their fears, and understood their own strength, they refused to be any longer controlled by him, turning out of the House and out of the army whomsoever they pleased: which false measures taken by him, he began to perceive when there was no remedy left. Fifteen hundred old officers were removed from their commands in the army by the committee appointed for that purpose, and as many brought in to supply their places, who were for the most part either unknown to the souldiers, disaffected to the cause, or ignorant of military affairs[2]. The rules by which the

[1] Whitelocke notes under Dec. 29, 1659: 'I went to visit Haslerig at his lodgings in Whitehall, and to bid him welcome to town, and to find how his inclinations stood: I found with him H. Nevil, and they were both very reserved to me, and ranted high against the Committee of Safety.' Whitelocke was informed also that Scot and Nevil and others had threatened to take away his life on account of his acting with the Committee of Safety. Scot, he complains, 'said that I should be hanged with the Great Seal about my neck.' Memorials, iv. 384, 386.

[2] On the restoration of the Parliament, seven Commissioners were appointed by the government to

committee for placing and displacing went by, were, as every man had been known to favour or oppose the army party, without any consideration of the reasons that led them to the one or the other ; which yet had been convenient, because many had carried it fair to the army, only that they might be the better enabled to make them sensible of their duty, and more easily prevail with them to return to the obedience of the Parliament : and many had rail'd at and opposed the army with no other design than thereby to necessitate both the Parliament and the army by their disunion, and the confusions that would naturally ensue thereupon, to return to their former servitude. 1660

[1] It was wonderful to consider how with fair words those who used to be watchful to discover what was for their interest were lulled to sleep : Chief Justice St. John himself, who even in this session prepared and procured the Parliament to pass a declaration against Monarchy and for a Commonwealth, and Reynolds who had bought public lands as well as the other, [agreed] in crushing the friends of the Commonwealth and preferring those of a contrary principle (if of any), acting as if they had designed nothing less than what they pretended to and what their interest led them to ; scarce one of ten of the old officers of the army are continued ; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, a known bitter enemy to the public and to all good men, on a disputable election of eighteen years' standing, against all reason and common justice is admitted to sit as a member of Parliament because he had joined with some of them in opposing Jan. 7.

command the army, Col. Alexander Popham, Col. Thompson, Col. Okey, Col. Alured, Col. Markham, Mr. Thomas Scot, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (Dec. 26). Their power was to continue until three of the seven Commissioners previously appointed (Oct. 12) by Parliament should come to London, or till Parliament should take further order. Those Commissioners were Fleetwood, Ludlow, Monck, Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton. By Dec. 31, Haslerig, Walton and Morley were in London, superseded the Commissioners appointed Dec. 26, and were empowered upon the present emergency to appoint officers over the respective regiments for the service of the Parliament, until the Parliament take further order. C. J. vii. 796, 797, 801. Their powers were annulled on Feb. 21.

[1] The following paragraph is from the suppressed passages printed by Christie.

1660 the army at this time, which Charles Stewart himself would have done, might he have been admitted into the confederacy.
Jan. 18. They bestow also a regiment of horse upon him, which by his policy he modelleth with officers for his turn, and by his smooth tongue and insinuating carriage bears a great sway in Parliament.

In the mean time Monk having left four regiments in Scotland to secure that country, and divided his forces into two brigades, one of which he commanded himself[1], and Col. Morgan the other, began his march for England on the first day of January, and on the second took his quarters at Willar, where he received letters from the Parliament. On the fifth he came to Morpeth, and found there some persons sent to him by the Common Council of London, with orders to desire him to use his interest to call a free Parliament. The next day he entred Newcastle, and thence dispatched one Gumble[2], whom he had entertained as his chaplain, with letters to the Parliament and Council of State, wherein protestations of duty and fidelity were not wanting. Divers lawyers of the Parliament, with some others, gave a meeting to Monk's messenger at the Speaker's house; and several citizens did the like at the house of one Mr. Robinson[3], at both

[1] Monk brought with him about 5,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The horse regiments were Monk's own, and those of Morgan, Knight, and Clobery. The foot consisted of the regiments of Monk, Fairfax, Lydcot, Reade and Hubblethorn. On Jan. 2, according to Price, Monk quartered at Wooler, on Jan. 3 at a village on the way to Morpeth, and on Jan. 4 at Morpeth, where he received an address sent from London by the sword-bearer of the city. Price, p. 750; Baker, p. 629; Gumble, p. 197. On Jan. 5, Monk quartered at Newcastle, on Jan. 6 at Durham. Gumble was sent from Morpeth on Jan. 4, according to Price, but the letters he carried are dated Newcastle, Jan. 6. See Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 50; C. J. vii. 808.

[2] For Gumble's account of his mission see his Life of Monk, pp. 204–220. It was printed in 1671, and seems to have been read and followed by Ludlow.

[3] John Robinson, knighted, and created a baronet June 22, 1660, for his share in the bringing about the Restoration. On that share see Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 219; Clarendon State Papers, iii. 660, 715; Kennet's Register, pp. 11, 96, 133. Pepys met him on March 17, 1663, when Robinson was Lord Mayor, and describes him thus: 'A talking, bragging, buffleheaded fellow that would be thought to have led all the City in

which meetings Gumble was assured that they and their parties would be favourable to Monk's design. Having in a few days dispatched the business he came about, he returned to his master, with an account of the success of his negotiation. He found him at Mansfield in Nottinghamshire; and having acquainted him with the divisions at London, and with the inclinations of the City, Monk marched the next day to Nottingham, where he staid ten days. In his march he removed many officers from their commands, placing in their room persons of ruined fortunes or profligate lives, making no distinction between those that had continued in their obedience to the Parliament, and those who had declared against them. In particular he discharged from their imployments divers officers of our Irish Brigade, who had been the most zealous for asserting the civil authority, and filled their places with such as had been dismissed for their vicious lives or corrupt principles. Wherein his deportment was so visible, that Col. Martin in the Parliament House resembled him to one, that being sent for to make a sute of clothes, brought with him a budget full of carpenter's tools[1], and being told that such

1660

Jan. 18.

Jan. 19–23.

the great business of bringing in the King, and that nobody understood his plot, and the dark lanthorn he walked by; but led them and plowed with them as oxes and asses (his own words) to do what he had a mind: when in every discourse I observe him to be as very a coxcomb as I could have thought had been in the City.'

[1] Price tells the same story a little differently. 'The General still adhered to a Commonwealth, and neither jest nor earnest could make any other discovery of him: for once he was set upon, in jest, by a late Long-Parliament-Commonwealth's-man, who was good at it. He told the General, that he had always had a great esteem of him (I think he had once, at a pinch, happily served him), and asked him what he aimed at, a King or a Commonwealth? The General answered, "You have known me a long time, and you know that I have been these many years for a Commonwealth: and I am still of that opinion." He returned, "I ought to believe your Excellency; but will you give me leave to tell you a story. It was this: A city tailor was met one evening in the country, with a pick-axe and spade: a neighbour of his asked him whither he was going with those instruments? He answered, to take measure for a new suit of cloaths at such a house, and for such a person. His neighbour demanded, 'What, with a pick-axe and a spade.' 'Yea,' quoth the tailor, 'these are the measures now in fashion.'" So he left the application to his Excellency, whether his new

1660 things were not at all fit for the work he was desired to do, answered, 'it matters not, I will do your work well enough I warrant you.' Yet for all this the pretences for a Commonwealth went never more high than at this time: for besides an injunction laid upon all commissionated officers to engage to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, the Parliament appointed an oath, containing the abjuration of the family of the Stuarts, to be taken by the members of the Council of State before they might act therein. But none were more forward to publish their resolutions of adhering to a Commonwealth-government
Jan. 23. than Monk himself, who in a letter to some of his own countrymen of the western parts[1], that had addressed him for the restitution of the Secluded Members, told them that he could not do it, because it was not only contrary to his own frequent declarations, but directly opposite to the interest of a Commonwealth, as well as to that of the army; a thing not to be done by him, or borne by them, being a total reversing of all that had been done for the last twelve years in England, Scotland and Ireland, and tending to charge the nation with all the blood that had been shed during that time. He said it would unsettle the possession of Deans, Chapters, Delinquents, Crown and rebels lands; and in fine, if we should suffer monarchy to return amongst us, after so long a fruition of a Commonwealth, we should be driven to a worse condition than ever, and put past all hopes of appearing to defend our liberty any more. He advised them therefore to acquiesce in the authority of the present Parliament, who, he assured them, were most ready to hearken to all reasonable propositions touching the good and happy settlement of the nation.

models in the army were fit tools to make a Commonwealth with' (p. 795).

[1] Monk's letter to the gentlemen of Devonshire, directed to Mr. Rolle, is dated Leicester, Jan. 23, was read in Parliament Jan. 26, and was occasioned by a letter from the gentry of Devon dated Jan. 14, and sent by Mr. Bampfield to the Speaker, to be communicated to Parliament. It is rinted in Mercurius Politicus, Jan. 28-Feb. 2, p. 1052, in the Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 68. See also Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, pp. 330, 345.

And that this answer might be taken notice of by all men, he caused it to be printed and published. 1660

The Parliament being willing to encourage him in the good resolutions he professed to have taken, sent Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Luke Robinson, members of the House, to be commissioners from them to him[1]. Mr. Scot had kept a long correspondence with him, and after the last interruption had published some of his letters, wherein Monk declared his resolution to live and die with the Parliament, without a King, single person, or House of Lords. These two persons were in appearance much courted by Monk, who pretended to be wholly directed by their advice. And when the commissioners for the city of London, or the gentry of those parts where he passed, applied themselves to him for the restitution of the Secluded Members, he referred them to the judgment of the Parliament, to whom, he said, he was resolved intirely to submit. He also solicited Sir Arthur Haslerig and some others of the House, that the sectarian party might be removed out of the army, sending a list of the names of all those who had been continued in their employments by the army during the late interruption; and pretending that a Commonwealth could not possibly be established whilst such men were in power. What he did relating to the affairs of Ireland was carried more covertly, and coloured with the name of Sir Charles Coote[2]. And because he knew I had some reputation with Sir Arthur Haslerig and the Commonwealth-party of the House, he made use of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Mr. Weaver, Mr. Justice St. Johns, Mr. Robert Reynolds, and some others, to obtain what he desired in that matter. These gentlemen were informed that the Council of State, notwithstanding all the arts that

[1] Scot and Robinson were sent on Jan. 16, and found Monk on Jan. 23, on the road between Leicester and Nottingham.

[2] Sir Charles Coote sent Captain Cuff to Monk, who accompanied the general in his march from Newcastle to London, and acted as intermediary between him and the Irish officers. Baker, p. 703. Monk sent Sir Joseph Douglas to Coote from Durham to engage him to declare for a free Parliament. Price, p. 751.

1660 Jan. 13. had been used to calumniate me, had agreed upon a report to be made to the Parliament, that Sir Hardress Waller, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, and Major Godfrey, might be intrusted in conjunction with me, with the management of affairs in Ireland. They knew also that the two last would be ready to do any honest thing that I should advise; and therefore fearing lest the Parliament might agree with the Council of State upon the report, they procured the debate to be adjourned for three days, within which time they so ordered the matter, that Col. Bridges and the two Warrens Jan. 19. presented to the Parliament the charge of high treason against the Commissioners and me, as I mentioned before[1]. Whereof Monk's party in the House made such advantage, as not only to refuse their concurrence with the Council of State in their report concerning me, but also by the help of the lawyers' rhetorick, who were my professed adversaries on account of my endeavours to reform the practice of the law, passed a vote to require me to deliver the fort of Duncannon into the hands of the prosecutors; some of them moving that in case of refusal I should be declared a traitor, and sent for in custody. Which perhaps might have passed also, if Mr. Henry Nevil, who singly had the courage to defend me in that conjuncture, had not spoken in my behalf, desiring them not to entertain a jealousy of a faithful servant upon informations unproved, nor to do any thing to the prejudice of my reputation, till I should

[1] Col. Bridges presented Articles of Impeachment against Ludlow, Jones, Corbet and Thomlinson, and the resolves of a Council of War held at Dublin, Dec. 26. These are printed in the Appendix, from the copies sent to Monk, whose letter on the subject to the Council of State is added. Clarke MSS. lii. ff. 53-56. On Jan. 19, when these charges were presented, the House suspended all the powers formerly given to Ludlow and his fellow Commissioners, and appointed Sir Charles Coote, Sir Hardress Waller, Col. Markham, Mr. Robert Goodwin and Mr. Weaver, Commissioners in their place. Ludlow and the other accused were ordered to attend the Parliament to answer the charges. It was also ordered that the list of the officers of the army in Ireland should be referred to the Commissioners of the army to consider of and report to the House, and that Lieutenant-General Ludlow and all other persons should forthwith surrender the Fort of Duncannon, and the city of Cork and the forts therein, to Sir Hardress Waller and Sir Charles Coote. C. J. vii. 815.

be heard; when, he doubted not, I would make appear, 1660
that I had always endeavoured to promote their service[1]. But I was not the only person borne down by this torrent. Sir Arthur Haslerig himself having parted with Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway, his most able and best friends, began to lose ground, and all that he said in the House or elsewhere to go for nothing. And tho they could find out no colour to remove him as they had done the other two; yet having already rendred him insignificant in the Parliament, they resolved he should have as little power in the army. To that end it was contrived that Monk Jan. 28.
should write to the Parliament, that for their greater security, the forces that were in and about London, amounting to about seven or eight thousand horse and foot, might be removed to a farther distance to make room for those that he had with him, presuming to name to the Parliament some particular regiments which he principally insisted to have removed, amongst which Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse was one[2]. And so tame was the Parliament grown, that tho it was most visible he designed their ruin, yet on his bare word and empty protestations they not only trusted him, but obeyed him as their superior, and ordered all that he desired to be put Jan. 30.
in execution. Notwithstanding this unhappy posture of affairs, thinking it my duty to clear my self of the aspersions

[1] Henry Nevill (1620–1694) had represented Abingdon in the Long Parliament, having been elected in 1645, and had been a member of the Council of State in Nov. 1651. 'He was a great Rota-man,' says Wood, 'was one of the chief persons of James Harrington's club of Commonwealthsmen, to instill their principles into others.' Nevill seems to have been the only one of the republican theorists with whom Ludlow was intimate. Their common opposition to Cromwell during 1653–8 had brought them together.

[2] Monk's letter, written from St. Albans, Jan. 28, was read in Parliament on Jan. 30, and orders given to the troops accordingly. The letter itself and the list of the troops to be removed are printed in the continuation of Baker's Chronicle, pp. 701–2. Four regiments of horse, viz. Okey's, Cooper's, Haslerig's and Rich's, were removed from London, and six regiments of foot, Fleetwood's, Markham's, Streater's, Moss's, Fitch's, and that of Col. Ayres. The regiments of Morley and Fagg, of which Monk was sure, were allowed to remain in London.

1660 cast upon me, and to improve the small interest I had left for the service of the publick cause, I resolved to take my place in Parliament[1]. And in order thereunto, being accompanied by Mr. Henry Nevil, I attended Sir Arthur Haslerig at Whitehall, where I gave him a short account of my actions since I had last seen him, of my endeavours in Ireland to serve the publick, of the state of affairs there, of the principles and practices of those that had assumed the power in that country, and of the readiness of the souldiers and most of the officers in that army to have served the Parliament faithfully and usefully, if they had been true to themselves and their own interest. I also acquainted him with the sense I had of the late severe, if I might not say unjust, proceedings against me, which seemed to me to be such a requital of my faithful services, that if I expected my reward from men, I should rather chuse to serve the Great Turk. But that I might not be wanting to my self, and in order to justify my own innocence, if I could do no farther good, I had resolved to go to the Parliament House the next morning, desiring his advice and that of Mr. Nevil for my government when I should come thither. Sir Arthur was unwilling to enter into any discourse concerning what had lately passed, saying, it was too late to recal things now: and then told us how his enemies thought to ensnare him, by Monk's motion to the Parliament for removing his regiment from London, thinking thereby to create a difference between him and Monk, wherein he had disappointed them by desiring their removal himself, contrary to their expectation, entring into a prolix commendation of Monk, and assuring us that he was a person on whose fidelity they might safely rely. And if I may be permitted to deliver my sense touching this discourse of Sir Arthur Haslerig, I conjecture it proceeded partly from an apprehension that things were already gone so far, that he doubted whether he could put any stop to them; and

[1] 'Upon Monday (Jan. 30), Lieut.-General Ludlow and Miles Corbet, Esq., being newly come over from Ireland, took their places in Parliament.' Mercurius Politicus, Jan. 29–Feb. 2.

partly from some sparks of hope that Monk could not be such a devil to betray a trust so freely reposed in him. For he kept a constant correspondence with Sir Arthur, and in all his letters repeated the engagements of his fidelity to the Parliament, with expressions of the greatest zeal for a Commonwealth-government. In the conclusion it was agreed between us, that when I came into the House I should sit as privately as I could, and observe the temper of the members, before I should put them upon the consideration of my affair. Accordingly I went to the House, and tho they had used me in the manner I have related, yet they treated me very civilly, some of them telling me in a jesting way, that it was not usual for men accused of high treason to be so well received in that place. Having taken out a copy of the charge exhibited against the Commissioners and me, I found the Commissioners to be charged with altering their title during the late interruption, from Commissioners of Parliament to Commissioners of the Commonwealth; and that they had sent a ship of war to prevent any relief to or correspondence with the garison of Ayre in Scotland, who had declared for the Parliament. Besides which, Col. John Jones was accused for taking part with the army against the Parliament, not only in the particulars aforesaid, but also in his answer to the letter written by Monk to me, on supposition that I was then in Ireland, to invite me to a conjunction with him for the restitution of the Parliament: and likewise for promoting a subscription to the government of the army amongst the officers in Ireland. As for me, I was charged with assisting the army in England, and doing acts of hostility by sea and land against those in Ireland who had declared for the Parliament. Whereupon I moved the House that they would be pleased, according to their order, to hear me touching their affairs in Ireland, and to permit me to justify my self, which I did the rather that I might have an opportunity to procure that mischievous order for the surrender of Duncannon to be recalled, hoping that it had not yet been put in execution.

1660

Feb. 1.

1660 But all that I could obtain was, to have a day appointed when I should be heard[1]. Mr. Miles Corbet, who arrived in England some days before me, was so terrified with the proceedings of the Parliament against Sir Henry Vane and Major Saloway, together with the name of a charge of high treason against himself, that he had never appeared publickly since his arrival, till upon some discourse with me he took courage, and went with me to the House.

In the mean time Monk was come to Barnet, and being expected at London the next day, orders were issued out for the old regiments of the army to march from the town; which so disgusted them, that many refused to march till Feb. 2. their arrears were paid. This mutiny began at Somerset House, where one whole regiment was quartered, who were joined by divers parties of the rest[2]. The Cavaliers and Presbyterians of the city hoping to improve this opportunity, invited them to join with the City, as they termed their party there, promising them their whole arrears, constant pay, and a present gratuity, giving them some money in hand as an earnest of the rest. The souldiers took their money, but withal threatned them, that unless they departed immediately, they would fire upon them, declaring their resolution to continue faithful to the Parliament. Hereupon the Council of State, that they also might cut the grass from under their own feet, sent orders to Monk to hasten his march, and with all diligence to come to their relief. These male-contents were very numerous, amounting to more than two thousand foot; and about the same number of horse were ready to join with them. But no considerable person appearing at the head of them, their new officers, who laboured the whole night to satisfy them, prevailed with them to march the next morning, upon promise that their arrears should be paid at their next quarters. The

[1] On Feb. 1, 1660, it was ordered 'that Lieutenant-General Ludlow do on Wednesday next (Feb. 8) give an account to the Parliament of the affairs in Ireland.' On Feb. 8, Ludlow's statement was adjourned till Feb. 15. C. J. vii. 829, 837.

[2] On this mutiny see Pepys, ed. Wheatley, i. 40, 41; Lister, Life of Clarendon, iii. 83; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 342; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, p. 344.

following day Monk marched to London in the head of his party[1], which for the most part were quartered about Whitehall, where lodgings had been provided for him : and immediately some members of Parliament were sent to congratulate his arrival. The same evening I met Vice-Admiral Lawson at Sir Henry Mildmay's lodgings at Whitehall, and knowing him to be familiarly acquainted with Monk, I desired that we might make him a visit together, which he readily consented to. We found him alone in the Prince's lodgings ; where having congratulated the success of his attempt to restore the Parliament to the exercise of their authority, I took the freedom to tell him, that having an opportunity put into his hands to free these nations from the danger of being oppressed, as they had lately been, by the power of the sword, I hoped he would improve it to the publick advantage, by giving his assistance to the Parliament in settling the government upon so just a foundation that it might be supported for the future by the love and affections of the people. He answered, that as God had owned him in his work, so he desired that He alone might have the glory : that it was true, factions had been carried on ; but that he was fully resolved to promote the interest of a Commonwealth. Which resolution when I had commended, and encouraged him as well as I could to continue, he said, 'We must live and die for and with a Commonwealth.' Then I told him, that I had met lately with one Mr. Courtney, who said he was his relation, and having drunk too much at the inn where I lay in my way to London, boasted that his cousin Monk would do great things for the King ; but that upon my objecting his publick declarations and protestations to the contrary, he began to doubt, and said, that his cousin being a man of honour, he feared he would be as good as his word. 'Yea,' said Monk, 'if there were nothing in it but that, I must make good my word, and will too.' 'I presume,' said I, 'that the 1660 Feb. 3.

[1] Monk brought with him to London his own regiment of horse and those of Colonels Clobery and Knight, his own regiment of foot and those of Colonels Read, Lydcott and Hubblethorn.

1660 answer you have lately published to your country-men's letter, hath given them all satisfaction concerning you.' He replied, that he hoped it had. These and many other protestations of zeal to the common cause, with many professions of friendship to our selves, we received from him at that time; wherewith Vice-Admiral Lawson was so satisfied, that he said to me after we had parted from him, that since the Levite and the priest had passed by and would not help us, he hoped we had found a Samaritan that would do it.

Feb. 4. The Parliament having notice of Monk's arrival, sent a message to him by Mr. Scot and Mr. Robinson, to desire his attendance at their house the next day: whither being Feb. 6. come, a chair was ordered for him, but he refused to sit, contenting himself to stand behind it uncovered, laying his hand upon the chair. The Speaker, as he had been ordered, gave him the thanks of the House for the service he had done, extolling him above all the worthies of former and later ages. To whose rhetorick he answered, that as to what was done, he desired God might have the glory, in that He had wrought deliverance by so weak an instrument. After which he informed the House, that in his march many applications had been made to him by all sorts of persons for a free Parliament; and that he had acquainted them, that the end of his march being to free the Parliament from the power of those who had imposed on them, he doubted not they would take all possible care of the publick good. Then he put them in mind of their resolution to fill up the House, which he said, would tend much to the satisfaction of the nation. He desired that fanatical persons, as he called them, might be removed from places of trust, and undertook to answer for the fidelity of those who had assumed the power in Ireland, concluding with professions of the utmost zeal and faithfulness to their service[1]. Thus

[1] Monk's speech, which is not given in the Journals, is printed by Gumble, p. 230, and in Baker, p. 704. It contains a hit at Ludlow: 'Ireland is in an ill-settled condition, and made worse by your interruptions, which prevented the passing of an Act for the settlement of the estates of the adventurers and soldiers there.... I need not tell you how much you

he gave the Parliament good words, for which they heaped their favours upon him; they voted one thousand pounds per annum to be setled on him. And that nothing might be wanting to compleat this scene, Monk's wife took especial care to treat the wives of the members that came to visit her, running her self to fetch the sweetmeats, and filling out wine for them; not forgetting to talk mightily of self-denial, and how much it was upon her husband's heart that the government might be setled in the way of a Commonwealth. In the mean time the Secluded Members had their meetings with those of the same faction in the city; and some of those that sate in Parliament[1] were earnest promoters of their return to the House, of whom was Col. Lassels, and Col. Richard Ingoldsby, who had been two of the King's judges: but the person I most wondred at was Col. Hutchinson, who having exceeded most of the members of the High Court of Justice in zeal for putting the King to death, at this time acted a very different part, pressing the House with an unbecoming importunity to proceed against Sir Henry Vane, for not removing into the country according to their order, when it was well known he was so much indisposed, that he could not do it without the apparent hazard of his life. Many alarms were given to the Parliament by their faithful friends in printed discourses, and other ways, whereby they were put in mind that the enemies quarrel was not so much against persons as things; and, as one termed it, not against Ludlow and Rich, but against the cause it self. They were advised to accept the assistance of their old servants, and to incourage them in 1660

were abused in the nomination of the officers of your armies there; their malice that deceived you hath been sufficiently manifested. I do affirm that those now, that have declared for you, will continue faithful, and thereby convince, that as well there as here, it is the sober interest must establish dominion.'

[1] The following suppressed passage, printed by Mr. Christie, should probably be inserted here, but cannot conveniently be placed in the text, and is therefore given as a note. 'In the meantime, the Secluded Members held their cabals with the City of London, for the carrying on of these designs, and some of those members who sat, especially Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Col. Feilder, had correspondency with them.'

1660 their fidelity, as the only means to preserve themselves and the Commonwealth from certain ruin: but they were deaf to all salutary counsel, and resolved to finish the work with the new instruments which they had chosen. To that end they proceeded on the bill for filling up the House, which by wise men was thought a most dangerous expedient in that conjuncture, unless Monk should prove more honest than they could believe him to be. The city of London also took upon them in their Common Council to receive petitions from the adjacent counties, touching the paiment of taxes and other publick affairs, presuming not only to call in the petitioners, and to give them thanks for their good affections; but also passed a vote that they would pay no taxes, but such as should be imposed by a free Parliament.

Feb. 8. The Council of State having received a particular account of the proceedings in the City, sent for Monk to consult with him concerning the best means to put a stop to these disorders: and some of them moving that the Common Council should be forbidden to sit, some few of the most active seized, the gates of the City taken down, the portcullaces wedged, and the posts with their chains pulled up; Monk said, that if they did no more, that would serve for nothing, because the damage might be soon repaired. He added, that the disaffection of the City was so great, that they would never be quiet, till some of them were hanged; and that it was absolutely necessary for the present to break in pieces their gates and portcullaces, to burn their posts, and to carry away their chains to the Tower; offering himself, if they would command these things to be done, to see their orders put in execution. Hereupon the Council ordered him to march

Feb. 9. into the City with his forces early the next morning, before the occasion of his coming amongst them should be known. Various reports were published touching the design of his march into the City, and many suspected that he had already declared for the King. But when the House was met, the Council of State made their report to us, and informed us

of the unwarrantable proceedings of the Common Council, and of their own resolutions and orders concerning them; in the execution of which they assured us Monk had by that time made a considerable progress, having already pulled up the posts with their chains, taken down the portcullaces and the gates of the City, which he had begun to cut in pieces, and seized some of the most active of the Common Council. The Parliament having heard the report of the Council of State, approved what they had done, and ordered fifty pounds to be given to Monk to defray the expence of his dinner that day, he having refused to dine at the charge of the City, tho earnestly importuned to it by divers citizens. All things going so well that morning both in the army, and in the Parliament, Sir Arthur Haslerig was again so elevated, that coming into the House in the afternoon, he broke out in the presence of divers members into these expressions, 'All is our own, he will be honest.' But it was not long before his wine was turned into water: for as soon as the House was sate, a letter was presented to the Speaker from Monk, the contents whereof made them easily perceive that his zeal to their service began to cool. Therein he acquainted them with what he had done in prosecution of the orders he had received, and that he wanted tools and instruments to finish the work, having already spoiled all those that he had brought with him to cut the gates and other defences of the City in pieces; that the mayor and citizens had promised obedience to the Parliament for the time to come, and therefore he desired they would respite the execution of what remained of his instructions; hoping that what had been done would be a sufficient admonition to the City for their future good behaviour. The Parliament understanding the tendency of this letter, were highly offended with Monk for presuming to neglect and dispute their commands: and being resolved to do as much as they could in this matter to preserve their authority, they dispatched a message to him, requiring the exact performance of the orders he had received. Upon the receipt of these second orders, Monk seemed

1660

1660 much disturbed, but yielded little or no obedience to them, and lay that night in the City[1]. The day following he
Feb. 10. returned with his forces to Whitehal, and about two days after sent a letter to the House, directed to the Speaker, and
Feb. 11. subscribed by himself and some of his officers; wherein they complained that the Parliament had put them upon the late disobliging work in the City to render them odious to the citizens; that they continued to favour the fanatick party, by not prosecuting those that had acted with the army in the late Committee of Safety, and by permitting Sir Henry Vane and Col. Lambert to stay in town contrary to their own order for their removal; that they admitted men to sit with them in the House, who lay under accusations of high treason (meaning Mr. Miles Corbet and me, tho not naming us;) that on the contrary they shewed a backwardness to repose any confidence in those who were their truest friends, upbraiding them with refusing to approve some officers that had been presented to them, and delaying to grant commissions to others whom they had approved. They also reflected upon the Parliament for not making provision for the army, nor minding the publick work, putting them in mind of the vote for their dissolution in May following; and adding some threatning expressions, in case they should not issue out writs for filling up the Parliament according to their promise. After the reading of this letter from Monk, I perceived most of the members who had any affection to their country to be much dejected[2].

[1] 'That night [Thursday, Feb. 9], in order to the preservation of the peace of the City, he made his quarter at the Three Tuns in Guildhall yard.' On Friday he marched back to Whitehall and lodged there that night. On Saturday, he returned with his forces to the City and took up his residence at the Glass-house in Broad-street. On Monday, Feb. 13, Monk removed his quarter from Broad-street to the house of Alderman Wale, next door to Drapers' Hall in Throckmorton-street.

[2] Pepys was in Westminster Hall when the letter came. 'At noon I walked in the Hall where I heard the news of a letter from Monk, who is now gone into the City again, and did resolve to stand for the sudden filling up of the House, and it was all very strange how the countenance of men in the Hall was all changed with joy in half an hour's time. So I went up to the lobby, where I saw the Speaker reading of the letter; and after it was read, Sir A Haslerigge came out very angry, and

But the Parliament having devested themselves of their own strength, and abandoned all into the hands of Monk, tho no man had ever before presumed to address himself to them in so insolent a manner, yet they took his letter into consideration, and resolved to give him as much satisfaction as they could with any colour of justice. To that end they quickened their committee to bring in their report touching those that had acted in the late Committee of Safety: they ordered Sir Henry Vane to depart the town by a certain day, and that Col. Lambert should render himself within a limited time. They also resolved to issue out writs of summons for recruiting the House; but being fully perswaded that the charge of high treason against me was groundless and frivolous, they omitted to make any order concerning it. However, being desirous to procure some relief for those whom I had left at Duncannon, and to endeavour that the forces in Ireland might be put into good hands, I hoped that if I should move to be heard, I might at the same time have an opportunity to press the two last things, which I esteemed very necessary in that conjuncture: I desired therefore that since I conceived my self aimed at in one part of Monk's letter, the Parliament would be pleased to hear me in vindication of my innocence: but I could not obtain a present hearing, my case being put off till a farther time, and then delayed from day to day, till the dissipation of those who should have been my judges. 1660 Feb. 13.

Sir Henry Vane, according to the late order, was preparing to leave the town; of which having notice, I went to make him a visit at his house, where he told me that unless he were much mistaken, Monk had yet several masques to pull off, assuring me for what concerned himself, that he had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions God had enabled him to do for the Commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his sufferings,

Billing (a Quaker) standing at the door took him by the arm, and cried, "Thou man, will thy beast carry thee no longer? thou must fall." Diary, Feb. 11, 1660, ed. Wheatley. The letters of Monk mentioned here and on p. 219, are reprinted in the old Parliamentary History, xxii. 92, 98.

1660 how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant testimony thereto.

Feb. 11. Monk having alarm'd the Parliament by the foresaid letter, and either not daring to trust himself at Whitehal, or thinking London a fitter place to pursue his design in, he retired with his forces into the City, where he mustered his men, and was splendidly entertain'd at dinner by the Mayor and others[1]. Hereupon the Parliament, who endeavoured by all means to give him satisfaction, sent Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Luke Robinson, who had been their commissioners to him, as I mentioned before, to assure him of their good intentions towards him[2]: but he having now fortified himself by the conjunction of the City, began to treat them in a manner much different from his former carriage, not admitting them without difficulty to his presence; and when he condescended to speak to them, his discourse tended always to the same purpose with his letter, aspersing the proceedings of the Parliament, and amongst other things reproaching them with their favour to me, as Mr. Scot afterwards informed me: insomuch that he who had so lately undertaken to the Parliament for Monk's integrity and fidelity to their service, began to lose all hopes of him. Yet for all his insolent carriage to the Parliament and their commissioners[3], his party in the House had the confidence to move that he might be made general of their forces, the time limited by Act of Parliament for

[1] Ludlow returns again to the events of Feb. 11.

[2] 'Scot made protestations of the Parliament's affection to him and their high opinion of his services, thereby to divert him from his intentions of staying in the City: but Colonel Bridges, an officer of Ireland, that stood by told them, "The general had no reason to credit their fine speeches, since their words and their practices agreed not together, as was manifest in their contempt of those his friends in Ireland, who for his sake hazarded themselves in their service; and now when he came from the Irish Army to impeach Ludlow and Jones of high treason, he could have no justice, but was put off from day to day, when Praise God Barebone could be heard and admitted with a seditious petition the first moment he came to the door of the House."' Baker, p. 708.

[3] Letters from the Council of State to Monk between Feb. 12–20, are printed in Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659–60, pp. 358, 360, 365, 367, 379.

commissionating him with others to command the army in England and Scotland being almost expired. Many arguments were used to that end, tho those which were most pressed were taken from the consideration of the present posture of their affairs. But the Parliament still retaining some sparks of that courage with which they had been formerly animated, and having found by sad experience what miseries they had brought upon the nation and themselves by trusting Cromwel and others too far, chose rather to perish by the hands of an enemy, if Monk should resolve to be so, than by the delusions of a pretended friend: and therefore having rejected the proposition to make him general, they passed a vote that their armies in England and Scotland should be governed by commissioners, the number of them to be five, and any three of them to make a quorum. But that they might avoid as much as possible to give him the least just cause of discontent, they first agreed that he should be one of the said commissioners. Then they proceeded to the nomination of the rest, and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, tho he earnestly pressed them to excuse him, Col. Morley, and Col. Walton. These four being elected, it was visible that the balance of the commission would be in the fifth man that should be chosen, Monk having in a manner declared himself our enemy, and Col. Morley being sufficiently known to be of a temporizing spirit[1]. Hereupon Monk's party in the House moved that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper might be the fifth commissioner, and on the other side the Commonwealth party had resolved to use their endeavours for Major-General Overton: but upon consideration of the differences that had been between him and Monk, whereby

1660

Feb. 11.

[1] Evelyn records his negotiations with Morley on behalf of Charles II. Diary, Dec. 10, 1659; Jan. 12, 1660. Under Jan. 22, he says that Morley 'was very jealous, and would not believe that Monk came in to do the King any service; I told him he might do it without him, and have all the honour. He was still doubtful, and would resolve on nothing yet.' For Evelyn's letter to Morley, and a detailed account of the episode, see Evelyn's Diary, ed. Wheatley, iii. 177–183; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 243.

1660 they feared he would not pass, they laid aside that resolution, and agreed to put up Col. Alured. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper being first named, was first put to the question, and by the majority of votes excluded. Col. Alured being next proposed, the question was carried for him to the great satisfaction of the Commonwealth party. Whereupon sitting by Col. Martin in the House, and being perswaded of the integrity of the major part of these commissioners, I desired him to move that the command of the forces in Ireland might be inserted in this commission, which, upon his motion, was ordered accordingly; and the Act, being but short, was read thrice, and passed before the rising of the House: and this I did, because I found no other probable way open to force the power in Ireland out of the hands of those that had usurped it.

Tho these proceedings did not a little disturb Monk yet he endeavoured to disguise his dissatisfaction, and began again to court the members of Parliament more than before, whilst with the advice and assistance of his party in the City, he was forming a militia there, and nominating officers to command them, who were chosen for that purpose, rather on account of their disaffection to the Parliament than any other good quality to be found about them. Having received advice of these transactions, I acquainted Sir Arthur Haslerig with my information, and desired him to think of some speedy remedy, proposing that he would cause our scattered forces to rendezvouz forthwith: but Sir Arthur was so deluded by the hypocrisy of Monk, that he assured me he had given him all the satisfaction both by words and letters that a man could give touching his integrity to the Parliament, shewing me and divers other members of Parliament, two letters [1], which he had lately

[1] The letter from Monk to Haslerig, dated Feb. 13, and printed in the Clarendon State Papers, iii. 678, is evidently one of those shown by Haslerig. It was called forth by a letter from Haslerig to Monk, written on the previous day, in which he complains of reports that he was gathering forces to act against Monk. 'Indeed, Sir, it exceedingly troubles mee to heare such reports should bee raised that are soe notoriously false. Believe mee, there was not the least colour for this or any part

received from him, wherein were many expressions of his zeal for the establishment of a Commonwealth, with earnest desires that there might be no difference between them touching the way, seeing they were both intirely agreed in the same end. 1660

Monk had taken up his quarters in the city, at the house of one Col. Wall [1], where I resolved to make him a visit, in order, either to take him off from that prejudice, which by a clause in his letter to the Parliament he seemed to have against me, or to make a more perfect discovery of his intentions; supposing that, being a member of Parliament, he durst not attempt to seize my person, or if he did, that such an open violation of the privileges of Parliament would awaken them to provide for their own safety. I found the house where he lodged as full of souldiers as it could well be, and passed through several guards before I came to the chamber, where he received his visits. He was at the time of my coming in a private gallery, conferring with Mr. Edmund Calamy and others of the clergy. When he had taken leave of them, I was admitted, and at first perceived Feb. 13.

of it, and I assure you I had rather dye then breake my word: I beseech you forget not what I have said to you, I shall never faile you in standing for a Commonwealth. Sir, it is also reported I should have conference with Lambert and Sir Henry Vane; the first I never spoke with since his returne from Booth's defeate, nor with Sir Henry Vane since his being turned out of the House. Neither have I had or will be perswaded to have any discourse with them, or either of them, or any for them; neither will I be in any designe or plott whatsoever, for what I doe shall be above board.' Clarke MSS. lii. 73. In his reply, Monk concluded by saying: 'As for a Commonwealth, believe me, Sir, for I speak it in the presence of God, it is the desire of my soul, and shall (the Lord assisting) be witnessed by the actions of my life, that these nations be so settled in a free State, without a King, single person, or House of Peers, that they may be governed by their representatives in Parliament successively; and seeing this is your principle also, or at least so held forth by you, I hope there will be no clashing between us about circumstantials.'

[1] Alderman William Wale was in March, 1660, colonel of the White regiment of the London trained bands. On Feb. 13, Monk 'removed his quarter from Broad Street to the house of Alderman Wale next door to Drapers Hall, in Throckmorton Street.' Mercurius Politicus, pp. 1111, 1205. For Wale's pedigree, see Le Neve's Pedigree sof Knights made by Charles II, p. 46.

1660 him to be very shy of me: but after I had acquainted him that the cause of my visit was in order to undeceive him, and to remove, if possible, the prejudices he seemed to have against me, he suddenly changed his countenance, and treated me with great familiarity. Whereupon I told him, that having always endeavoured to assert the authority of the civil magistrate in opposition to the tyranny of the sword, I was unwilling to have any difference with him, who had declared for the same things: I assured him that I had publickly disapproved the answer of Col. Jones to that letter which he had sent to Ireland, directed to me, on supposition that I had then been in that country. I acquainted him with what I had done to preserve the Irish Brigade from joining with the army party, and how I had prevailed with them to engage to me under their hands not to fight against him, upon notice that he had espoused the cause of the Parliament. I acknowledged that I had displaced one of his relations in Ireland, not out of the least disrespect to him; but according to a rule which I conceived to be most just, that those might be restored to their offices in the army, who had been removed for their affection to the Commonwealth, which was the case; his kinsman having been made cornet of Major Dean's troop, and Cornet Whalley displaced for the reason before mentioned[1]. Hereupon Monk said that what I had done was most just, and that he never took any thing ill from me, either upon that or any other particular account. I then desired to know what reason he might have for entertaining any hard thoughts of me: to which he replied, that he had nothing to object against me but my favour to the fanatick party in Ireland. I told him that the party he meant had not acted as if they had been of the same opinion; for having signed an address to the Parliament, whereby they engaged to be

[1] Major Joseph Dean was major of the regiment of horse of Col. Peter Wallis, late Henry Cromwell's. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659–60, p. 13. Cornet Henry Monk had been active amongst the Irish officers on his uncle's behalf, and was accordingly made by him lieutenant of the Life-Guard. Baker, pp. 690, 699, 712.

true and faithful to the civil authority, and delivered it into my hands to be presented on their part; the same men, notwithstanding their publick engagement and particular promises to me, had immediately after my departure signed an agreement with the army, thereby rejecting the civil power, and consequently me, whom the Parliament had intrusted to command their forces in Ireland: that as I had never thought the profession of religion to be alone sufficient to qualify men for imployments, if they wanted affection to the Commonwealth; so I could not imagine which way religion should incapacitate persons for the publick service, who were not deficient in their fidelity and zeal for the common good. 'Yea,' said he, 'we must live and die together for a Commonwealth.' I hearing him say so, told him, that I was informed he was much pressed to restore the Secluded Members, who being highly enraged, would not fail to bring all things into confusion, and possibly endeavour to bring in the King. 'It may be,' said he, 'that they will attempt it, but they say they will not; and I assure you, tho I bear as much respect to Parliaments as any man, yet if I should observe a Parliament to be about such a thing, I would interrupt them therein.' Having spent about half an hour with Monk, I took leave; and as I went from him, I perceived one of his footmen to stand at the door of the room where we had discoursed, who I suppose was placed there by his master's order, to prevent me from dealing with him, as his conscience told him he deserved. He accompanied me to the foot of the stairs, and there parted with me, not without great shew of respect and civility; notwithstanding which it was manifest to me through all his disguises, by the persons he favoured and advanced, by the company he kept, and by the course he steered, that he was not bound to that harbour he pretended; and could I have prevailed with the majority of the Parliament to be of the same opinion, he should not have carried on his design so smoothly: but into such a desperate frenzy were we fallen, that many of the House, either thro fear, or for what other reason I cannot tell, discovered 1660

1660 themselves daily to be favourers of him; who had by this time so far advanced his affairs, that he resolved to pull off another mask: and to that end desired some sitting members of the House to give a meeting to some of the Secluded Members, in order, as he pretended, to give them satisfaction touching the justice of their exclusion, wherein he owned himself to be throughly satisfied, affirming to Sir Arthur Haslerig and others, that he did this only to answer the vexatious importunity of the Secluded Members. By this means he prevailed with Sir Arthur and some others to
Feb. 17. meet them at the time and place appointed [1], where the Secluded Members, and especially Mr. Annesley, reflected so undecently upon the proceedings of the Parliament since their exclusion, that Sir Arthur hastily rose up, and designed to leave the company: but Monk in a drolling way desired him to be patient till he should moderate Annesley, which, he said, he knew well enough how to do. Upon this Sir Arthur Haslerig sate down again, but the other proceeding in the same manner, he lost all patience, and rising up, he departed from the conference: Mr. Scot, Mr. Robinson, Col. Morley, and Mr. Rawleigh staid there till the discourse was ended, and so did the Chief Justice St. Johns, who not discovering himself to be of either party, sate observing on which side the balance would fall, as if he had been still to choose. If the Parliament had not been wilfully blind, these things would have proved sufficient to open their eyes. But to leave them without the least colour of excuse, it happened at this time that advice was brought to them from Ireland, that those who had usurped the power there, for whose fidelity Monk had engaged, and who moved not a step without his orders and directions, had published a declaration against them [2]: the contents of it were more

[1] On this conference see Baker, p. 836.

[2] This declaration was instigated by Monk. Price, p. 751. Cf. Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 371: Carte, Ormond, iv. 51. It is entitled 'The Declaration of Sir Charles Coote . . . and the rest of the Council of the Officers of the army in Ireland present at Dublin concerning the readmission of the Secluded Members.' It contains a direct attack on Ludlow. 'Whereas Lieut.-General Ludlow had placed in Ireland several officers who

insolent than those of the letter which Monk had sent to the Parliament before he retired into the city; for after they had reproached them with the favours they extended to men accused of high treason, and the discouragements they laid upon those who had been sent to England to prosecute them, they openly told the Parliament they could no longer own them for an authority, and therefore desired that a free Parliament might be called to put an end to the confusions which their miscarriages had brought upon the nation. It was matter of amazement that such a declaration should be published by men that pretended to act by the authority of the Parliament; but it was not procured without opposition: for when Sir Charles Coote and Col. Theophilus Jones, who were the principal confidents of Monk on that side, had prepared their paper and a party to back it, Sir Hardress Waller, who had been one of the late King's judges, fearing the consequence of such practices, moved that the council of war might be adjourned into the castle: but not being 1660

are Anabaptists, many of whom had been very active in the late conspiracies and actings of the factious part of the army in England, even against those members of Parliament now sitting at Westminster; of which officers so placed by Lieut.-General Ludlow, it was found necessary to purge the army, and to put in their places persons more soberly minded and well affected to the Parliament; yet after all that done, and after General Ludlow himself stood justly and deservedly charged with high treason, the said Lieut.-General Ludlow himself, and some others of the like principles with him, were by a report to the Council of State proposed to be appointed to govern not only the army but the whole nation of Ireland, to the astonishment of the people and army here, to the unsettling of those persons so well deserving, to the hazard of the peace of the nation and army, and (which is above all) to the endangering even of religion itself... And although the said Lieut.-General Ludlow and Miles Corbet, Esq., together with Col. John Jones, and Col. Mat. Thomlinson, stand impeached from hence most justly of high treason, and that charge against them being known to the House, and there remaining, yet they have admitted two of those persons, namely, the said Lieut.-General Ludlow and Miles Corbet, actually to sit in the said House.' On Feb. 18, Lord Broghil and the officers of the Munster army also declared for a free Parliament. Thurloe, vii. 817. The Declaration of the General Convention of Ireland, on March 8, further complains that Ludlow and his colleagues 'have laboured and do labour to asperse this nation falsely and scandalously, as if the people of Ireland did by their necessitated proceedings intend to divide or separate from England.'

1660 able to carry that point, he communicated his design to as many as he thought fit, and making an excuse to go out of the room, he hastened away, and retired into the castle. Major Stanley, Lieut.-Colonel Warren, and some others went immediately, and joined themselves to him; and amongst them it was resolved to send out a party to seize Sir Charles Coote and his adherents. But he having notice of their intentions, had a party of his creatures ready; and being accompanied by Col. Theophilus Jones, mounted on horseback at the head of them, riding up and down the streets of Dublin, and declaring for a free Parliament, which language was by that time sufficiently understood to be for the King. They were followed by a great rabble of the people, and thereby so incouraged, that they formed a design against the castle; and having posted their guards upon all the avenues, they sent a summons to Sir Hardress Waller to deliver the place into their hands. The Governour in his answer to the summons endeavoured to convince them of the injustice of their attempt, reminding them of the declarations they had lately made to be true and faithful to the present Parliament; desiring them to consider how much it was their interest to adhere to them, since it was under their authority that they had acted for so many years past against the late King and his family, and that their titles to the possession of the lands forfeited by the rebels were founded upon the same power. Having dispatched this answer to Sir Charles Coote, he clothed all the souldiers out of the stores, and distributed a sum of ready money amongst them to secure their fidelity, with promises of a farther gratuity, if they would stand by him: but Sir Charles Coote found a way to treat with some of the garison, and after two or three days by large offers and advantageous terms, prevailed with them to deliver their Governour and the castle into his hands. By the expulsion of Sir Hardress Waller out of the army two regiments fell into the hands of those that had seized the government in Ireland, for which Sir Charles Coote had some difficulty to find colonels, having already disposed of two to himself,

one to his brother Richard Coote, another to his brother Chudleigh Coote, a fifth to his brother Thomas Coote, and a sixth to his cousin St. George. Which unequal distribution was so resented by some of his own party, that Major Barrington moved at one of their councils of war, that a more equal hand might be kept in the disposal of imployments. Whereupon Sir Charles Coote, after he had severely reprimanded the major, discharged him from his command in the army[1]. 1660

In the mean time Monk had desired the mayor of London to assemble the Common Council (tho the Parliament had dissolved them) and in defiance to their authority attended on them at Guildhal, excusing himself for what, he said, he had been constrained to do in the City by order of the Council of State, and assuring them that he was much troubled for that rigorous work. He declared himself ready to expose his person to all dangers for their service, and that he had not forgot the kind letter they had sent him whilst he was yet in the north: that he was then of the same opinion with them, but was obliged at that time to conceal it, till he might have an opportunity to discover his sentiments with better advantage. He also acquainted them that he had sent a letter to the Parliament, that they would fill up the House, and put an end to their sitting by the 6th of May. By this means he gave such encouragement to the Cavalierish party, that the rabble of them, as he passed by from Guildhal, cried out for a free Parliament; and perceiving him not displeased with their insolence, they made bonfires in London and Westminster for roasting the Rump[1], as they presumed to call that Parliament, who in the five years' time that they governed without interruption, had raised the glory of the nation from the dust wherein it had been buried by the negligence and corruption of the preceding governments, and had rendred the English name formidable to all Europe. This riotous disorder, how pleasing soever it was to Monk, Feb. 11.

[1] After a long digression, pp. 224–231, Ludlow goes back to the incidents of Feb. 11; see p. 220. For accounts of the roasting of the Rump, see Pepys, Feb. 11, and Aubrey, Letters from the Bodleian, ii. 455.

1660 yet it could not be properly charged upon him, because he had given no publick order for what had been done, and therefore he continued to declare as loud as ever how faithful he would be to the Commonwealth. And tho Sir Arthur Haslerig was informed of the foregoing particulars and many other things that seemed fully to discover Monk's design ; and tho I earnestly importuned him to improve the little time that remained to prevent the threatned ruin, by a speedy reunion with our old friends, by adjourning the Parliament to the Tower, and by drawing our dispersed forces together ; yet he would not be perswaded to any thing of that nature, persisting still in his opinion that all would be well, and that Monk would be honest. And that he might have no pretext to be otherwise, Sir Arthur doubting, by reason of the correspondence that continued between Monk and the Secluded Members, that, in case the writs for filling up the Parliament should not be issued out by the time prefixed, he would take advantage of that failure to bring them into the House, laboured diligently with the Parliament that it might be done to his satisfaction, and accordingly the Bill was passed within the time limited. But the Secluded Members being grown confident of attaining their ends by another way, deported themselves at a much higher rate than they were accustomed to do ; Major Harlow, who was one of them [1], taking the liberty to say openly in Westminster Hall, that they would have their footmen chosen to supply their places. Sir Gilbert Gerrard also brought an action against Col. Alured for denying him admission to the House after the last restitution of the Parliament [2] ; but the colonel having acted by order of the Parliament, they ordered the process to be stopped. Yet so low were the affairs of the Parliament, and their authority so little regarded even in Westminster Hall, that Sir Robert Pye, who had been committed to the Tower by their order, suing for his Habeas Corpus at the Upper Bench, and Judg

[1] Major Robert Harley. Clarendon S. P. iii. 685, 746.

[2] The repulse referred to took place on Dec. 27. See Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 28 ; and Prynne's Brief Narrative.

Newdigate demanding of the counsel for the Commonwealth what they had to say why it should not be granted, the counsel answered, they had nothing to say against it. Whereupon the judg, tho no enemy to monarchy, yet ashamed to see them so unfaithful to their trust, replied that if they had nothing to say, he had; for that Sir Robert Pye being committed by an order of the Parliament, an inferior Court could not discharge him[1]. 1660

The House having agreed to all things necessary for issuing out writs to elect members for filling up the Parliament, ordered a warrant to be signed by the Speaker, whereby the Commissioners of the Seal should be authorized to send out writs according to custom; but he refused to do it, pretending that if he should sign any warrant to that purpose, he might be sued at law by every individual person in whose room any other should be elected, and therefore desired that the House would pass an Act to enable their clerk to sign the warrant; or that the Commissioners of the Seal might issue out their writs of summons upon a general act to be passed to that end. It was answered, that the duty of his place obliged him to perform the commands of the House; that having received their order in that affair, he was thereby fully indemnified, and that he signed not the warrant in his personal, but in his politick capacity. But he would receive no satisfaction, persisting positively in his refusal, and submitting himself to their pleasure, if they should think fit to send him to the Tower, or to choose another person to be Speaker in his place. Whereupon the House condescended to pass an Act to impower the clerk to sign the warrant to the Commissioners of the Seal: tho for my own part, I was for taking the Speaker at his word, and placing another person in the chair: and instead of sending Mr. Lenthal to the Feb. 20.

[1] Sir Robert Pye was imprisoned for presenting the Berkshire petition for the readmission of the Secluded Members, Jan. 25, 1660, discharged on their return to their places by order of Feb. 21, and the vote for his committal erased by order of March 2. C. J. vii. 823, 847, 859; Mercurius Politicus, p. 1054.

1660 Tower, to have adjourned our selves thither ; but I could prevail with few to be of my opinion [1]. This business being thus passed, and my doubts increasing touching the event of these things, I earnestly desired the House, that I might either be presently heard concerning the affairs of Ireland, and my own conduct there, or that a short day might be appointed when they would hear me without any farther delay, alledging for the reason of my importunity, that tho my enemies in that country had by their late actions manifested to all the world that their enmity to the Parliament was much greater than to me; yet being uncertain what sort of men might soon have the principal influence in that House, I could not believe they would think it convenient that a charge of high treason, how frivolous soever, should be transmitted to them against one of their old and faithful servants. Mr. Thomas Scot thinking my discourse to reflect upon his son, who had commanded the forces before Duncannon, addressed himself to the Speaker, and said : that tho he would not undertake to answer for all who had opposed me in Ireland, yet he might affirm that one of them was their faithful servant. To which I replied, tho contrary to the order of the House, all things there also beginning to fall into confusion, that I could not positively say who that one was that the gentleman who spoke last meant, but should suppose he intended his son, whom I assured them they could not think to be such a person as he had represented him, unless they esteemed the insurrection of Sir George Booth to have been for their service, he having attempted to justify the lawfulness of it in my presence. Upon this

[1] The Act concerning elections of members to serve in Parliament passed its third reading on Saturday, Feb. 18, 1660. C. J. vii.; Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 131. On Monday the 20th the journals are a blank. Lenthall's refusal to sign the writs must have taken place on Feb. 20. 'They told me,' writes Pepys on that date, 'how the Speaker Lenthall do refuse to sign the writs for new members in the place of the excluded; and by that means the writs could not go out to day.' The form of the writs is printed in the Publick Intelligencer, p. 1124.

dispute, the Speaker presuming he should be well seconded, 1660
ventured to discover his malice also against me, reminding the House of an order they had made for the surrender of Duncannon, to which he said he knew not that any obedience had been yielded: and therefore thought it necessary the House should be assured of that before any order were made upon my motion. In this disorder and confusion the House rose about six in the evening.

The Council of State sat late that night, and received advice that the Secluded Members designed to force themselves into the House the next morning: thereupon they sent a message to Monk to acquaint him with the information they had, and required him to prevent it if it should be attempted. He returned for answer to the Council, that he was well assured no such thing was designed; but for their satisfaction, and to hinder it if endeavoured, he would not fail to double the guards that were to attend the Parliament. But for all this the Secluded Members, attended by divers of Monk's officers, Feb. 21.
went early the next morning to Westminster, and were admitted into the House by the guard he had placed there, who were more ready to defend than oppose them[1]; and Monk having thus violated his promises, and abused the trust reposed in him by the publick, took up his quarters again at Whitehall the same morning. Being inform'd of these transactions, I resolved for my own part to give no countenance to the Secluded Members by sitting with them who had no right to any place in Parliament, having

[1] Pepys saw the re-entry of the Secluded Members. 'They came to the House and went in one after another, and at last the Speaker came. But it is very strange this could be carried so private, that the other members of the House heard nothing of all this, till they found them in the House, insomuch that the soldiers that stood there to let in the Secluded Members, they took for such as they had ordered to stand there to hinder their coming in. Mr. Prynne came in with an old baskethilt sword on, and had a great many shouts at his going into the Hall.' 'As he went into the House,' says Aubrey, 'W. Prynne's long sword got between Sir W. Waller's short legs and threw him down, which caused laughter.' Letters from the Bodleian ii. 509. On the readmission see also Gumble, Life of Monk, p. 26.

1660 been expelled the House by more than a quorum of lawful members. But that notice might be taken that I had not withdrawn my self from the service of the publick, nor was at the head of any forces, as was given out, I thought convenient to pass sometimes through Westminster-Hall ; where Mr. George Montague, who knew I declined to come to the House, meeting me, and asking me the reason of it, I answered, that having done as much as I could to serve the Commonwealth, and seeing an impossibility of contending against the present torrent, I had resolved to absent my self from the place where the Parliament used to meet, that I might publickly disown the authority of those who had violently possessed themselves of the House, and not seem to consent to the confusions they were bringing upon us. He replied, that in his opinion the conditions upon which the Secluded Members had entred the House were more dishonourable than those upon which others were gone out, and that he was not willing to sit among them, they having engaged to make Monk General of all the forces by sea and land, to settle a constant maintenance for the army, to appoint a new Parliament to be chosen ; and when these things were dispatched, to put a period to themselves within a day or two at the most [1]. Yet some of the lawful members of Parliament, either through fear or curiosity, or some other motive not known to me, went into the house and sat amongst them. Another part of them, being about seventeen in number, whereof divers were of the Council of State, went to Monk to be informed from his own mouth of the reasons of these procedings. He received them with no less civility than formerly; and having understood from them the occasion of their coming, he made as solemn protestations of his

[1] The terms of Monk's agreement with the Secluded Members are given by Price, p. 772. His speech and declaration to them is printed in the Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 140; Somer Tracts, vi. 551. Phillips adds details on the conference between the officers and the Secluded Members, and prints the circular letter of the officers to the regiments and garrisons in the three kingdoms (Baker, p. 710) ; cf. Clarendon S. P. iii. 667, 688 ; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 360.

zeal to a Commonwealth-government as he had ever done, desiring them to believe that the permission he had given to the Secluded Members to enter the House, was only to free himself from their importunity, and that he would take effectual care to prevent them from doing any hurt in that place. But these gentlemen having resolved to try him to the utmost, demanded farther if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party: in answer to which he applied himself to Sir Arthur Haslerig, who was one of them, and said, 'Sir Arthur, I have often declared to you my resolution so to do:' then taking off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur's, he added; 'I do here protest to you in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a House of Peers.' After this he began to expostulate with them touching their suspicions, saying; 'What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the House? Are they not the same that brought the King to the block? tho others cut off his head, and that justly.' 1660

The Secluded Members having forced themselves into the House, took upon them the authority of a Parliament, making votes and enacting laws as they pleased, which power they had hitherto constantly denied to be in a House of Commons alone: but we must believe the case to have been much altered upon their return; and that a House of Commons alone, without a King or House of Peers, might do any thing for betraying the publick cause, tho it could not have any colour of authority to justify them in doing the least thing for the security of it. In pursuance of these principles, they passed an act to make Monk General of all the forces belonging to the Parliament in England, Scotland and Ireland, both by sea and land, only they joined Col. Montague with him in the office of Admiral; which tho Monk resented as a violation of the treaty he had made with the Secluded Members, yet he thought not convenient to insist upon the alteration of that particular. They continued the customs Feb. 25.

1660 and excise, and laid other taxes on the people, borrowing great sums of the city of London on the credit of their acts. Monk took away Col. Walton's regiment of horse, and gave it to Col.— Howard; and having made choice of two hundred horse for his own guard, he appointed Col. Philip
Feb. 26. Howard to command them [1]. He disposed of Col. Rich's regiment to Col. Ingoldsby; but before the order could be put in execution, Col. Rich hoping he might prevail with his men, as he had done formerly, to declare for the lawful authority, he went down to the quarters where they lay. At his arrival most of them promised to remain faithful to him; but when Col. Ingoldsby came down, partly by his own interest among them, they having been under his command in the time of Cromwel, and partly by the torrent of the usurped authority, which then ran that way, he prevailed with the greatest part of them to desert their colonel; who finding himself abandoned by most of them, yielded the rest to him, and declared his resolution to acquiesce. Capt. Walcot, who had been an officer in my regiment, and by me preferred to be captain of a troop of horse when I sent our brigade into England, having gained an interest in the officers and souldiers by his good conduct, and supposing to find amongst them the same affection to the good old cause they had always manifested since their arrival in England, went towards Chester, where they were quartered; and being arrived within twelve miles of that place, he sent a letter to Major Woodward, of whose fidelity to the Parliament he thought himself sure, to acquaint him with his resolution of going to them [2]. But so great a change had the late turn wrought in men's

[1] Walton's regiment of horse was originally Desborough's, had been given in Dec. 1659 on the restoration of the Parliament to Morley, and then when Morley was made Lieutenant of the Tower to Walton. Monk gave it to Charles Howard of Naworth, whom he also made governor of Carlisle; Baker, p. 713. On Rich's supersession by Ingoldsby, see Baker, 712, and the Publick Intelligencer, Feb. 29, p. 1132.

[2] Thomas Walcot had served as a lieutenant in Col. Stubber's regiment in Cromwell's Irish army in 1649, and had acquired estates in Ireland. He had been 'very instrumental' in the work of gaining over the Irish brigade to act against Lambert. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, pp. 294, 575.

minds, that the major gave Capt. Walcot's letter to Col. Redman, who by Monk's order then commanded our Irish Brigade [1], and who immediately dispatched a party of horse to seize the captain; which having done in obedience to the order they had received, rather than from any inclination to such an imploiment, they gave him an opportunity to make his escape. Capt. Walcot coming afterwards to London, went to Monk, and having delivered his opinion freely touching the publick affairs, and the usage he had lately met with, Monk fell into a violent passion against him; but soon recollecting himself, he treated him in a more civil manner, and gave him a pass-port to return into Ireland, where his family and estate lay, supposing thereby to render him less able to assist his enemies than if he should continue in England. 1660 May 12.

The Secluded Members having forbidden the council to sit, chose one to supply their place, which was composed of Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Mr. Crew, Mr. Swinfen, Sir Willian Lewis, Sir William Waller, Col. John Birch, Col. George Monk, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Col. Norton, Mr. Knightly, Col. Herbert Morley, Sir Harbottle Grimestone, Mr. Arthur Annesley, Sir Richard Onslow, Chief Justice St. Johns, Serjeant Brown, Col. Brown, &c. This new council was vested with large powers of imprisoning such as they suspected, and doing other things sutable to the designs then on foot. Sir Hardress Waller obtained of them, by means of his kinsman Sir William Waller, a permission to come over to England, and to be brought before them [2]; where having subscribed an engagement to acquiesce, and to appear upon summons, he was discharged from custody. But Sir Charles Coot, who was well acquainted with the bottom of Monk's design, and conscious to himself how much he had Feb. 21. Feb. 23.

[1] Danie Redman, who about Feb. 1660 had pledged himself to the King's Cause. Life of John Barwick, pp. 161, 187, 223, 231, 496; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, p. 294.

[2] Waller had been for some time imprisoned by Coote in the Castle of Athlone. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, p. 398.

1660 exasperated the King's friends in Ireland by his constant opposition to them, having added to all the rest the execution of one Stuart, that was related to the royal family, thought he could never do things horrid enough to those of his own party, in order to reconcile himself to the other: therefore that he might give them what assurances he could that he was wicked enough to be imployed and trusted by them, he sent a party of horse and seized the Chief Justice Coke, to make some amends to his sacred majesty by that sacrifice. The grand design of destroying the Commonwealth being so far advanced, Monk caused a declaration to be drawn in the name of the officers about London, and recommended to the rest of the officers in the three nations, declaring it to be their duty and
April 9. resolution to submit to the authority that was over them, and to obey such orders as they should receive from them [1]:

[1] Ludlow's account of the movement amongst Monk's officers confuses several distinct incidents. On Feb. 21, Monk and his officers drew up a circular letter to be sent to all the regiments in the three kingdoms explaining their readmission of the Secluded Members and protesting their adherence to a republic. 'Since the providence of God hath made us free at the cost of so much blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful to God and his people as to lose so glorious a cause; but we do resolve with the assistance of God to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear-purchased liberties both spiritual and civil.' Baker, p. 710. In March the excitement amongst the officers grew so great that they held a meeting, and drew up a declaration which was brought to Monk to sign. It pledged Monk and his army to declare for a free Commonwealth, and against all that should attempt the setting up of a single person, and was to be sent to the Parliament for its adhesion. Monk called a great meeting of officers at St. James' the next day, in which Okey set forth their fears of a Restoration, and argued for the acceptance of the proposed expedient. But the general refused, and insisted on their leaving the matter to Parliament, telling them 'he brought them not out of Scotland for his or the Parliament's council; that for his part he should obey the Parliament, and expected they should do the same.' On the night of March 8, a conference took place between 10 officers and 10 leading members of Parliament, and the officers were temporarily satisfied by their assurances, and abandoned the proposed declaration. On March 9, Monk followed up his victory by ordering all officers to repair to their respective commands. Baker, p. 716; Clarendon S. P. iii. 695; Mercurius Politicus, March 8–15. Ludlow confuses this proposed declaration with the later declaration and engagement framed by Clarges, presented to Monk on April 9, and published April 11. Baker, p. 719; Clarendon S. P. iii. 715, 728; Mercurius Politicus, April 5–12.

which when they were upbraided with, as a thing contrived to betray the publick cause, many of the officers shewed themselves so sensible of the consequences of it, that they earnestly pressed that a council of war might be called; making use of some reasons to perswade their general to it, but indeed to unite themselves to each other, and in a publick manner to express their resolutions to lay down their lives for the Commonwealth. But Monk being informed of their design, dispersed them to their respective commands, to which they tamely submitted, notwithstanding the big words they had spoken without doors. Hereupon the Secluded Members suspecting Sir Arthur Haslerig to have had a principal hand in raising this spirit in the officers of the army, sent to him to take his place in the House where the Parliament ought to sit, which to that time he had not done. Sir Arthur finding it impossible to resist the stream, being accompanied with divers members, went in to them; where, as I have been informed by some that were then present, he did not behave himself with that courage and resolution that usually attended him, but pleaded in his excuse the reverence he always had for the authority of Parliaments, and endeavoured to justify himself touching any violations that had been made against it, assuring them of his intention to acquiesce under the present power. Major-General Lambert also, who had hitherto concealed himself in hopes of finding an opportunity to appear at the head of some party, and thereby to prevent the design of Monk, finding that the army had for the most part submitted to the authority of the Secluded Members, surrendred himself to the new Council of State, in hopes of better terms from them than he could have promised himself from the former, who he thought would have been more likely to resent the force he had put upon the Parliament: but they contrary to his expectations requiring him to give security for his quiet deportment, upon his refusal so to do, committed him to the Tower [1].

1660

Mar. 6, 7.

March 9.

March 6.

March 7.

March 5.

[1] A proclamation calling on Lambert to surrender had been issued on Feb. 13. An account of Lambert's interview with the Council of State,

1660 Most of the Commonwealth-Party were very sensible of the dangerous condition of their affairs; and that they might not be altogether wanting to their own preservation, and to the service of the publick, some of the principal persons among them had divers meetings; at one of which I took the liberty to make the following propositions: That seven of the Council of State, and three of the Generals that had been appointed by the Parliament, should sign such orders as were necessary for putting our design in execution: That the regiment of Col. Moss which lay in Kent and not far from London[1], and another which lay in the borough of Southwark commanded by Lieut.-Col. Farnly[2], consisting in all of more than 2000 old souldiers, of whose integrity and affection we had good assurance, should be ordered to march to the Tower to join with Col. Morley's regiment which was already there, and would be ready to receive them, having sent to me to let me know that the Tower should be at my command whensoever I pleased to desire it: That the commanders of these forces should take with them provisions for six months, giving tickets for the quantity so taken payable by the Parliament of England: That the militia of London which had been listed during the government of the Parliament, should be authorized to meet as there should be occasion, to assist the forces in the Tower: That four or five places of

his speech, his refusal to give security for £20,000 as they demanded, and his consequente ommittal to the Tower, was laid before the Parliament on March 6, by Mr. Annesley. Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 151. On March 15 power was given to the Council to discharge Lambert on parole or security as they should think fit.

[1] Moss's regiment seems to have been suspected by Monk. Immediately after Lambert's escape from the Tower the Public Intelligencer of April 21 records that 'there being a necessity to reduce some regiments for the lessening the charge of the nation, Col Moss's regiment being commanded to march to Kennington Common and there disband, did willingly submit themselves and received their full arrears for all their former services on the place.' But see Baker, p. 702. Fagg's regiment was quartered in Southwark.

[2] Lieut.-Col. William Farley appears to be meant. He was imprisoned at the Restoration; see Cal. S. P., Dom., 1660-1, p. 579; 1661-2, p. 6.

rendezvouz should be appointed for the forces of the army that lay scattered up and down in several parts of the nation; and that officers should be agreed upon to appear at the head of them: That the souldiers both horse and foot should have the liberty either to follow their old officers, or to appoint new: That those officers who should prevail with the major part of their men to follow them should continue in their respective posts; and that those that appeared heartily to promote this design, tho they could not perswade the greater part of their souldiers to follow them, should have provision made for them equal to their merits: That the country-militia both horse and foot should be authorized to draw together, and be impowered to seize and disarm such persons in the respective counties as were known enemies to the Commonwealth: That the fleet should be ordered to declare at the same time, and to send one or two thousand seamen to the assistance of those in the Tower, which I conceived they might do without danger to the nation, because the enemy we were to contend with was intestine, and not from abroad. I acquainted them that Vice-Admiral Lawson who commanded the fleet had declared his resolution to continue faithful to the Parliament, which could not well be doubted by any that would reflect upon his former conduct, he having taken the oath for abjuring the King's family, and being one of the Council of State[1]. To this was added, that all persons who should act by the Parliament's authority in this service, should be justified in so doing; that the governours of garisons should be required to refuse obedience to any power which was not derived from 1660

[1] Lawson had been personally thanked by Parliament on Jan. 9, elected one of the new Council of State on Jan. 2, and voted a reward of £500 a year in land on Jan. 21. C. J. vii. 799, 801, 806, 818. After the return of the Secluded Members however, though confirmed in the dignity of Vice-Admiral, he was not elected to the new Council of State (Feb. 23), and the fleet was entrusted to the joint command of Monck and Montague (March 2). The Restoration Parliament repudiated the vote of £500 a year to Lawson Dec. 18, 1660. C. J. viii. 214; Old Parliamentary History, xxiii. 56. A royalist view of his character is given in Clarendon State Papers, iii. 637.

1660 the lawful authority of the Parliament, whose place the Secluded Members had now usurped; and that a declaration should be forthwith prepared to shew the grounds and reasons, together with the necessity of these proceedings. Some of those that were present promised to advise with their friends of the Council of State, and hoped that a quorum of them as well as of the Generals might be found to put the things in execution that should be agreed on. But we being ripe for the correction of heaven, nothing could prevent it, our enemies succeeding in all their attempts, and all our endeavours proving abortive. In the mean time the Companies of London made a great entertainment for Monk[1], where the bargain they had driven with him was ratified and confirmed by dissolute and unbecoming debauchery; for it was his custom not to depart from those publick meetings till he was as drunk as a beast. After dinner a person was introduc'd, who in verse addressed himself to Monk for the return of the King, which he heard without reproof, tho at the same time he protested to Col. Okey, who went to take leave of him in order to repair to his command, and desir'd to be satisfied of his intentions touching Charles Stuart, 'that he would oppose him to the utmost,' and gave him his hand before all the officers then present, as a pledg of his sincerity.

The Secluded Members being convinced that the sword was likely to prove the best title they should find to their authority, prepared an act to settle the Militia in such hands as they might safely trust, and took into their consideration how to settle the sum of one thousand

[1] On these festivities see Price, p. 796. The newspapers state that on Feb. 28 Monk dined at Grocers'-Hall, on March 6 with the Mercers, on March 13 with the Clothworkers, on March 28 with the Drapers, on April 4 with the Skinners, on April 12 with the Vintners. On the last occasion, 'having thanked the City for the honourable entertainment which heretofore they had given him, he was pleased to desire a forbearance of the like invitations for the time to come, as not agreeable to the distemper of the times, and the season which the Church of England hath heretofore appropriated to abstinence and humility rather than to triumphs or entertainments.' The Weekly Intelligencer, April 10–17.

pounds a year upon Monk, which had been voted to be given him by the Parliament. The thing in dispute was, whether the said settlement should be secured to him out of the King's lands at Hampton-Court, as he himself had desired of the Parliament, that he might lay them more profoundly asleep, or whether a sum of ready money should be paid to him in lieu of it. Divers of the members of Parliament were for making good their former order upon Hampton-Court; and several of the Secluded Members hating the traitor, tho they accepted the treason, concurred with them, that so the grant might be rendred useless to him. But his party amongst them was so great, that tho it was carried to be out of the lands at Hampton Court, yet in conclusion they obtained a vote that twenty thousand pounds should be paid to him out of the publick treasury instead of it. 1660 Feb. 25. March 15.

The Irish Officers also, who had assumed the civil as well as the military power, presented him with a pair of spurs and a hilt for a sword, all of gold; together with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt, to manifest their acknowledgment and acceptance of his good service in betraying the publick cause. The Lord of Lauderdale, with other Scots who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, and continued in custody from that time, was set at liberty; and the Secluded Members gave order also to discharge Sir George Booth from his imprisonment, if he would engage to make his appearance upon summons; which he thinking to be injurious to him, who had endeavoured to do no more than they themselves were attempting, refused the condition, but was soon after released without entring into any obligation. March 3. Feb. 22.

The new Council of State being informed of some designs against the usurped power, issued out warrants for apprehending divers officers of the army; and having some jealousy of others that were members of Parliament, they procured an order of their House to authorize them to seize any member who had not sate since the coming in of the Secluded Members, if there should be Feb. 27.

1660 occasion. And tho these men could thus trample upon the privileges of that body, whereof they pretended to
March 5. be members; yet to shew how zealous they were for Presbytery, they ordered copies of the Covenant to be fairly drawn, and hung up in every parish church throughout England.

The Lords perceiving which way things were turning, solicited Monk that they might take their places according to ancient custom in the House appointed for their sitting, alledging that nothing done by the Commons without their assent could justly be esteemed legal. But it was not yet time for Monk to discover himself so openly, before the army was better prepared, and the new militia settled: and therefore he not only gave a positive denial to their demand, but placed a guard of soldiers upon their House, to prevent the Lords from acting the same part that the secluded Commons had done[1].

Major-General Overton still continued in his Government of Hull, and suspecting Monk to be an enemy to the Commonwealth, had hitherto refused to yield obedience to his orders. Whereupon the Secluded Members being well informed of the importance of the place from the time they had ordered it to be kept by Sir John Hotham against the late King, impowered Monk to use all means to
March 4. remove the Major-General from that command. Monk in pursuance of their directions, prevailed with Col. Alured, who was one of the Generals appointed by the Parliament, to go down to Hull, and to endeavour to perswade Major-
March 7. General Overton to quit the place. Accordingly he went
March 10. down, and having acquainted the Major-General with the reason of his journey, was presently put into the possession of it. It was matter of wonder to me that Col. Alured, in whom the Commonwealth party had reposed so great trust, would suffer himself to be imployed in such a message to one of the most faithful servants of the Parliament. But I was somewhat more satisfied when

[1] On Monk's negotiations with the Lords see Baker, p. 714.

[2] On Monk's dealings with Overton see Price, p. 778; Baker, p. 713.

Major-General Overton came to London, where he assured me that Col. Alured had neither said nor done at Hull any thing unbecoming an honest man; but that upon the news of the intrusion of the Secluded Members, the Cavalier party in the town had so increased, and his own soldiers split into such divisions, that he had no hopes left of keeping it. 1660 March 18.

At this time it was disputed whether the Secluded Members should agree upon a settlement, or whether it should be left for a Parliament to do: some were for calling in the Lords who sate in the year 1648, that they, together with the Commons, might enter into treaty with the King for a future establishment, which should be grounded chiefly upon the concessions made by the last King in the Isle of Wight. But Monk being earnestly desirous to bring back the King without any conditions, in hopes thereby to procure a recompence equal to the greatness of his treachery, prevented the success of that proposition; which part he acted so openly, that divers of the secluded and other members of Parliament resolved to imitate him: and tho all of them had engaged the nation in a war against the King, had contributed the utmost of their endeavours to carry it on, and called in the Scotish nation to assist them in it; yet upon a debate whether those of the King's party should be admitted to elect members for the succeeding Parliament, it was, to the astonishment of all men but themselves, carried for the affirmative. Having done this, they ordered writs to be issued out in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, excluding such from being chosen who had served the King, which was contrived to lead the people blindfold to their own ruin, and to put some colour upon the cheat they were about to impose on them. For they knew that having given leave for the Cavaliers to choose, and by every step they had taken manifested their malice against the Commonwealth, it would certainly come to pass, that either the sons of those of the King's party, or at least such as had privately favoured that interest, would March 13.

1660 for the most part be chosen in that conjuncture, when the Commonwealth party were under the greatest discouragements, and could not appear with safety under the usurped authority. They understood also that tho it should happen contrary to the exclusion before-mentioned, that those who had been actually in arms for the King should be chosen and returned to sit in the House, yet we were not likely to procure them to be ejected at such a time as this; having not been able, without the greatest difficulty, to cast out, even from Richard's Convention, those that had been in arms against us.

The secluded members not thinking themselves secure, till they had put the militia into the hands of such as were March 12. enemies to the Commonwealth, passed an Act to that purpose, and ordered it to be printed and published: whereat the officers about Monk were so offended, that tho they had lost all affection to the publick cause, yet suspecting that the forming such a militia, and intrusting it in the hands of commissioners that were known to be favourers of the King's party, might prove injurious, if not destructive to the army, by bringing in the son of the late King without them, they applied themselves to Monk, and earnestly desired that in consideration of his own and their danger, he would prevent the execution of the said Act. Whereupon he sent a letter to the pretended Parliament, to let them know, that being informed of the disaffection of the commissioners nominated in the Act they had passed touching the Militia, he desired them to forbear the execution of it, lest the persons they had intrusted therein might erect such a power in opposition to the army, as might be sufficient to bring in Charles Stuart. The letter being read in the House, caused a great perplexity amongst them, many not knowing what judgment to make of it, and some of them fearing that Monk would deceive them at last. But others understood him well enough; and therefore, notwithstanding his letter, Mr. Prynn went to the printer, and procured the Act to be immediately made publick, knowing it to be the desire of Monk that it should

be so[1]. Yet that they might correspond with him in his deceit, they sent Sir William Waller and one more to give him satisfaction concerning the particulars of the Act, which he pretended to scruple. They acquainted him, that tho there were many persons nominated in the Act, who might be willing to do as was suspected, yet that by it none were permitted to act as commissioners, but such as should own the justice of the Parliament's cause against the King to the year 1648, by subscribing a paper to that purpose. They also informed him that the said commissioners were not to appoint any colonels or captains to act in the militia, before they should be approved by the Council of State. Monk, being willing to receive satisfaction, having sent the forementioned letter only at the importunity of the officers, resolved to be contented with this answer; tho all men saw how little conscience the Cavalier party made of signing any paper, in order to promote the interest of their faction. 1660

The Act for the Militia being passed, the command of all the forces and garisons settled on Monk, and the fleet in his power in conjunction with Col. Montague, the pretended Parliament authorized their Council of State to provide for the publick safety on all emergencies, and to dispose affairs as they should think fit till the meeting of the next Parliament. Which being done, and the House ready to pass the Act for their dissolution, Mr. Crew who had been as forward as any man in beginning and carrying on the war against the last King[2], moved, that before they dissolved themselves, they would bear their witness against the horrid murder, as he called it, of the King. This unexpected motion prevailed with many then present to deny their concurrence to that act against the King, tho March 15.

[1] An abridgement of the Militia Act is printed in Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, pp. 390, 394; cf. Clarendon S. P. iii. 696; Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii. 386.

[2] John Crew (1598-1679), member for Brackley in the Long Parliament, one of the members expelled by Pride's Purge, and of the Council of State elected Feb. 23, 1660. Created Baron Crew of Stene in Northamptonshire at the coronation of Charles II.

1660 not to reflect in the same manner on those who had been concerned in it: and one of them concluding his discourse with protesting that he had neither hand nor heart in that affair, Mr. Thomas Scot, who had been so much deluded by the hypocrisy of Monk, as I have already related, in abhorrence of that base spirit, said, 'That tho he knew not where to hide his head at that time, yet he durst not refuse to own, that not only his hand, but his heart also was in it:' and after he had produced divers reasons to prove the justice of it, he concluded, 'that he should desire no greater honour in this world, than that the following inscription might be engraved on his tomb; "Here lieth one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart late King of England[1]."' Having said this, he and most of the members who had a right to sit in Parliament, withdrew from the House; so that there was not the fourth part of a quorum of lawful members present in the House, when the Secluded Members, who had been voted out of
March 16. the Parliament by those that had an undisputed authority over their own members, undertook to dissolve the Parliament, which was not to be done, unless by their own consent; and whether that consent was ever given, is submitted to the judgment of all impartial men. This face of authority being vanished after a full discovery of

[1] On Scot's declaration see Ludlow's subsequent account of his trial in Oct. 1660, and the Trial of the Regicides, p. 87. Hyde, in a letter to Sir Henry Bennett, gives a different account of the incident. 'There was another signal passage likewise before the dissolution: upon the reading the instructions to the Council of State during the interval of Parliament... there is one which gives them authority to send agents or ambassadors to foreign princes, whereupon Scot stood up and desired that there might be an exception that they should not send to Charles Stuart, which gave occasion to many members of the House to stand up and declare that they were in no way guilty, and did from their souls abhor the horrid and odious murder of the last King, and did detest the authors of it. Upon which Scot again stood up, and said 'that he indeed, and some others, had cut off the King's head, but that the other gentlemen had brought him to the block; which put the rest into so much passion that they would call him to the bar, but after some heat declined it saying, he should answer it at another bar.' Clarendon S. P. iii. 725.

the malignity of their intentions, I supposed the cruelty of their Council of State would not fail to increase with their fears; and therefore, tho I continued to pass some times thro Westminster Hall, that they might see I was not withdrawn; yet I did it not so frequently and publickly as I had done, changing my lodging from the house of one friend to that of another; and when I lay at my own house, taking the best care I could to secure my self from being surprized. 1660

In the mean time a considerable party of those who had been engaged against the King, resolved to raise a sum of money to pay such troops as should be willing to draw together against Monk and his partizans, and that two of their number should be bound for the peaceable deportment of Major-General Lambert in the penal sum of five thousand pounds, so much being demanded by the Council of State; which bond, if it should come to be forfeited, and the persons bound constrained to pay the mony, it was agreed that the said sum should be discharged out of the publick stock. Mr. Slingsby Bethel was imployed by the most eminent persons concerned in this design, to communicate their resolutions to Sir Arthur Haslerig[1], whom he attended at his lodgings to that purpose, and found him in a most melancholy posture, sitting in a chair, and leaning his head upon both his hands. Mr. Bethel asked him the reason of his trouble; and received for answer, that having been with Monk that morning, and pressing him to give him some assurance of his care of the Commonwealth, reminding him of his oaths and protestations of fidelity to the cause, Monk had treated him in an unusual manner, and demanded how he could expect any thing from him, whom he had endeavoured to make less than he was before he marched to London? Sir Arthur

[1] On Jan. 2, 1660, Bethel had been elected one of the members of the Council of State which was to act from Jan. 1 to April 1, but was superseded on Feb. 21. In 1662 he was one of Ludlow's companions in Switzerland. He was sheriff of London in 1680–1, and is satirized by Dryden as 'Shimei, whose youth did early promise bring of zeal to God and hatred to his king.' For his life see D. N. B. iv. 425.

1660 added to the rest of his discourse to Mr. Bethel, 'We are undone, We are undone[1].' Thus he that had abandoned his old friends to support the interest of Monk, and would not be perswaded of the malignity of his designs, whereby he had lost many opportunities of recovering all, was at last deserted by him, and almost driven to despair. Mr. Scot also informed me that he had lost all hopes of getting such a number of our Council of State together, as should be necessary to put in execution the design which I had proposed; and that, having notice that the new Council of State had resolved to seize his person, he designed to retire into the country, as well to secure himself, as to endeavour to be elected into the ensuing Convention, which by the vote of the Secluded Members was to be called a Parliament. These things put me in further doubt of my own safety, and moved me to provide for my self as well as I could. To that end I seldom lay at my own house after Mr. Scot's departure from London; and finding my self deprived of all means to serve the publick, and expecting the utmost extremities that malice could invent against those that had faithfully served their country, I resolved also to withdraw my self from the

[1] So far as Haselrig was personally concerned he was secured by a promise from Monk, who intervened after the restoration to prevent him from being excluded in the Act of Indemnity; see Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 444, 447, 451, 452. Haselrig feared for his life, and told an acquaintance that if Charles Stuart came in 'it was but three wry months and a swing' for himself. Monk promised to save him for twopence, and Haselrig, when he found himself under suspicion on account of Lambert's insurrection, claimed the fulfilment of the promise. 'I beseech your Lordship,' he wrote on April 30, 'to let the Council understand that I have neither directly nor indirectly done anything in opposition to the present authority settled by the Parliament in the Council of State. Neither was I knowing in the least degree of the disturbance made by Lambert. I have always acted with the authority of Parliament, and never against it, and hold it my duty to submit to the authority of the nation, and not to oppose it, and have hazarded my all to bring the military power under the civil authority. I forgot to give you the twopence; it is here enclosed, and being secured by your Lordship's promise I hope to end the remainder of my days in peace and quiet.' Egerton MS. 2618, p. 71; cf. Clarendon State Papers, iii. 740; Hist. MSS. Rep. v. p. 149; ii. 79; Baker, p. 723.

observation of the usurpers, and to go into the country. 1660
In pursuance of this resolution I departed from London, accompanied by my wife in a small chariot drawn by two horses, having sent two servants before well mounted to attend me on the road, with a led horse for my self, if there should be occasion. The second day of my journey early in the morning we perceived one to ride very hard after us, who coming up to us, proved to be a person that waited on my mother, and was sent by our relations with letters to inform me of what had happened since our departure : that about an hour and half after we left London a messenger from the Council of State came to the house where I lodged, with an order requiring me to appear before them ; assuring my relations he had the like orders for summoning Mr. Miles Corbet, Col. John Jones and Col. Thomlinson, Commissioners of Parliament for the affairs of Ireland, to attend the said Council : that the messenger being earnest to know whither I was gone, that he might give the more certain account to those that sent him ; my sister Kempson, doubting they might send after me and seize me, had refused to answer that question ; and that my mother Oldsworth fearing my sister's refusal might increase the jealousy of the Council of State, and put them upon taking some extream measures against me, had prevailed with my father-in-law her husband to wait on the Council the next morning, and to inform them whither I was gone, and the cause of my removal from London. Having received this account, and soon concluding that the Council either had already, or would send speedily after me, I mounted my led horse, that I might be the better prepared to make my escape, if I should happen to be pursued ; and lest they should have waylaid me on the road, I divided my little company, directing my wife with the chariot and two servants to take the common road by Bagshot, whilst I with a groom crossed the Heath, and declined all publick roads : so that my wife and I met not, till towards the evening I perceived her coming by a private way, which it was necessary to pass before she could reach the house of my cousin Robert

1660 Wallop at Farley, where we had agreed to remain that night [1]. There we found Mr. Nicholas Love, who had been one of the late King's judges, and who arrived there just before us. Soon after our arrival, Mr. Wallop who had been at a mannor called Husbands belonging to him, came home, and received us with his usual generosity and cordial affection, expressing no less zeal to the Commonwealth than when it was in its highest prosperity. And tho I acquainted him with the state of my affairs, and with the proceedings of the Council in relation to me, he earnestly desired me to continue at his house: but I thought it not decent so to do; and therefore after two nights' stay I took leave of him, and went to Sutton, where I lay with as much privacy as I could, having discovered that the master of the inn had been one of the late King's guard, and passionately affected to the Cavalier interest. The next day I went to the house of my cousin William Ludlow at Clarendon, where I was informed that Mr. Bainton, whom I had promised to serve in the ensuing election, had desisted from his design, and that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Mr. Earnly were likely to be chosen. However to make good my promise, I sent a letter to him to let him know I was come into the country, and to offer him what service I could, if he persisted in his intentions to stand for the county of Wilts. Having dispatched this message, and doubting the Council of State might send to seize, or at least to summon me, I went privately from Clarendon to Salisbury, and took up my lodgings at the house of one Mr. Traughton, a minister of that city [2]; where after I had been two or three days, I received a letter from my father Oldsworth, by which I understood

[1] Robert Wallop, 1601-1667, whose opposition to the government at the election of 1654 is mentioned by Ludlow (i. 388). See also on him, 7th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 151; Rawdon Papers, p. 153; Noble Lives of the Regicides, ii. 301. His relationship to Ludlow is not easy to trace.

[2] William Troughton, minister of St. Martin's Church, Salisbury, ejected in 1662. See Wood's Athenae, ed. 1721, ii. 966; Calamy, Nonconformists Memorial, ed. Palmer, iii. 373.

he had been with those of the Council of State, and having informed them that the design of my journey into the country was in order to settle my affairs there, they seemed to be well satisfied. He acquainted me also that Mr. Miles Corbet, Col. John Jones, and Col. Thomlinson had attended the Council in obedience to their summons, and were not permitted to depart, till they had signed an engagement to give no disturbance to the present power. The consideration of this proceeding towards them made me set a higher value on my deliverance from their hands than I had hitherto done. For if I had not left the town when I did, the summons from the Council had been served upon me; and if I had not appeared, it would have been taken as a contempt: but if I had appeared, they would undoubtedly have tendered me the like engagement to sign, which I could not have done any more than that which was required from me by Cromwel, and so might have been imprisoned, and in all probability detained till the return of Charles Stuart. 1660

The time of the election drawing near, I sent a messenger to Mr. Bainton for his last resolution in that matter, who returned me this answer, 'That having had a meeting with the gentlemen of the country at the Devises, he had resolved not to put his friends to the trouble of appearing for him, judging it the best way rather to swim with the stream than to be borne down by it.' Being thus discharged of my engagement to Mr. Bainton, I went to Maiden Bradley, and held a court at Yardenfield, that I might raise what money I could amongst my tenants, by filling up estates and changing lives: which having dispatched, I went to my mannor of Knoyle for the same end; and being there, was much importuned by the inhabitants of the borough of Hinden, part of the said mannor, to be one of their burgesses in the Assembly that was to meet at Westminster. Tho I durst not desire any to confer so great a trust on me, yet I confess it was no small contentment to me, that they would manifest their respects to my person, and their remembrance of my services, whatsoever they had

1660 been, in such a conjuncture, when the Cavalier party, with what design may easily be conjectured, had printed the names of the late King's judges, of which number I had the honour to be one; and when that interest was already become so prevalent, that the heir of the Lord Cottington, tho a Papist and an ideot, had found a party sufficient to put him into possession of Founthil House, which had been given by the Parliament to the Lord President Bradshaw, and to maintain him therein by open violence against the kinsman and heir of the said President.

Having finished my private affairs as well as I could, I was willing to have it believed that I was gone to Salisbury, and therefore set forward on that way; but to defeat, if possible, the malice of my enemies, I went not far before I quitted that road; and having sent my chariot, wherein my wife was, to Salisbury, I mounted on horseback, and passing over the hills that lie towards Somersetshire, I went to the house of my brother Strangways at East-Charleton[1], where I staid about four days as privately as I could, my horses being watered within the walls of the house, and the servants commanded to be silent concerning me.

The time of election for the borough of Hinden being come, the persons in nomination were Mr. How of Berwick, Sir Thomas Thynne, and my self[2]. All agreed to chuse Mr. How, so that the dispute lay between Sir Thomas and me. The number of the electors was about twenty-six, of whom I had nineteen voices, and was thereupon declared by the bailiff to be elected with Mr. How to serve for that
April 4. borough. The indentures were signed, and the writ returned to the sheriff according to custom. But the agents of Sir Thomas Thynne being unwilling to lose all their trouble and expence, and guessing upon probable grounds, that if they could bring the case before the next Assembly, they should certainly carry it against me, signed another

[1] Giles Strangways married Ludlow's sister Margaret.

[2] On this election for Hinden see a letter from William Thynne to Sir James Thynne, Apr. 2 (1660), in the Appendix.

indenture for Mr. How and Sir Thomas Thynne, making up in number what they wanted in quality, taking the subscriptions of the rabble, who not only paid nothing either to the state, church or poor, but also received the publick alms of the parish: and to gain these they were obliged to descend to the most unworthy artifices, affirming that I was already fled, and that they should certainly be destroyed by the King if they elected me. 1660

Before I went into Somersetshire I had ordered one of my tenants, of whose fidelity I had good assurance, to find out some private house where I might remain till I could better discern what course to take. Having made a diligent inquiry, he came to me with an account that he had found out divers places, whereof I might make choice of that which I should best approve for my retirement, which accordingly I did, and was received with hearty affection; and during the time I staid there, enjoyed great satisfaction in the conversation of the good man of the house, who was a lover of his country, possessor of an estate of about one hundred pounds by year in free land; above contempt, and below envy. After I had been with him about eight days, I thought I might without much hazard give my wife a visit at Salisbury; and accordingly I went thither in the night, and lay there. The next day being Sunday, news was April 15
brought to that place that Major-General Lambert had made his escape out of the Tower, and that it was supposed April 10.
he would be able to draw a considerable part of the army into a body speedily [1]. Hereupon, not doubting that the utmost diligence would be used to seize Lambert, and knowing that those of Salisbury were informed that I was in those parts, I returned to my former lodging, where I had not been above two or three days, when the man that had assisted Major-General Lambert in his escape, came to me with a message from him, to acquaint me that

[1] Lambert escaped from the Tower on the night of April 10. On April 11 the Council of State published a proclamation against him, and against all sheltering him, offering £100 reward for his arrest. Merc. Pol. 1253. An account of the manner of his escape is given in Rugge's Diary. See Wheatley's edition of Pepys, i. 111.

1660 divers officers of the army had been with him; that they had agreed upon two places of rendezvous, and had dispersed themselves to their respective countries in order to put their design in execution; that they had received assurances that the greatest part of the army would join with them, and therefore desired that I would give orders for the forces in the western parts to draw together, and that I would meet him at the head of them in the county of Oxford. But I thought it not prudent to engage my friends in so publick a manner, till I should see some probability of making a stand, whereof I conceived I might give some guess by Lambert's first rendezvouz, which was appointed to be about Daventry. In the mean time I dispatched messengers to several officers that commanded the forces in the counties of Dorset, Somerset and Wilts, to be ready to march if there should be occasion. I received assurance from a considerable party about Taunton, that the castle should be secured for the publick service, and had divers promises of the same nature from other places. The horse that lay at Salisbury began to stagger, and I doubt not would have been honest if they had seen a force sufficient to have made it reasonable for them to appear.

About eight days after my return from Salisbury, one Major Whitby came to me from Major-General Lambert to acquaint me with his intentions, and to consult with me concerning the best way of drawing together the forces on our side. He assured me that about one thousand horse were already with Lambert, and that he had good assurance that most part of the army would join with him. Having received this information, and being willing to hazard all with Major-General Lambert or any other persons, if I might be satisfied they aimed at the good of the Commonweath, I desired to know what Lambert had or would declare for, it being as I thought the duty of every man to inform himself of the justice of the cause before he engageth himself in it. Major Whitby answered, that it was not now a time to declare what we would be for, but what we would be against, which was that torrent of

tyranny and popery that was ready to break in upon us. 1660
To which I replied, that the best way to prevent those mischiefs, would be to agree upon something that might be contrary to them, not so much in name as in the nature of it, whereby we might justly hope to engage all good men to favour and assist us in our enterprize; and that the utmost care ought to be taken to convince the nation of the sincerity and justice of our intentions, especially since all men knew they had been so lately cheated by advancing a personal instead of a publick interest, and therefore not likely to be so easily taken with the same bait again [1]. So having communicated to me what he had in trust, and having received my answer, the Major departed; and two or three days after an account was brought to me, that Major-General Lambert's party was dispersed, and himself April 22.
taken prisoner by Col. Ingoldsby. To which defeat an accident that happened did not a little contribute; for some of Ingoldsby's party in their march had met Capt. Haslerig, son to Sir Arthur, and knowing his troop to be with Lambert, they seized him and brought him to Col. Ingoldsby, where he said, that being dissatisfied with Lambert's design, he had quitted the party, and thereby hoped to be set at liberty. But Ingoldsby told him, that unless he would bring off his troop also from Lambert, his deserting them should be of no advantage to him. He promised to use the best of his endeavours to serve him, and thereupon was permitted to return to Lambert. When the two parties were ready to engage, he brought off his troop as he had promised to endeavour, which caused such a consternation in the rest of the party, that many of them went over to Ingoldsby, and most part of those who did not think fit to follow their example, shifted for themselves as well as they could, leaving Lambert talking with Ingoldsby, and endeavouring to dissuade him from engaging

[1] Some fictitious incitements to the Fifth Monarchy men to rise in arms were also circulated about this time. Two of them are amongst the State Papers, and calendared without any suspicion of their genuineness being expressed. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, pp. 407, 409.

1660 any farther against him. But Col. Ingoldsby perceiving that Lambert's party had abandoned him, rid up close to him and required him to yield himself prisoner, which after a short hesitation he did, desiring Ingoldsby's Lordship, as he called him, to give him leave to escape. Col. Cobbet, Major Creed, and some other officers were taken prisoners[1], and with Major-Gen. Lambert committed to the Tower. Thus our enemies were those of our own house, and it was not the King's party that could destroy us; which as it ought to be a subject of humiliation to us, so it can be no just cause of exaltation to them. Being thus deprived of an opportunity of appearing in the field for the service of my country, I resolved to go to London, and there to wait the pleasure of God, either by acting or suffering in his cause[2]; where being arrived, I took up my lodging at the house of a friend who lived in Holborn, and endeavouring to learn what Major-General Lambert designed to have done if he had kept his ground, I was informed that he had prepared two declarations very different from each other, intending to publish that which might have procured him the greater party; but because it could not be agreed which of them was most likely to do so, he had thought fit to publish neither.

Hitherto Monk had continued to make solemn protestations of his affection and fidelity to the Commonwealth-interest, against a King and House of Lords; but the new militia being settled, and a Convention, calling themselves
April 25. a Parliament and fit for his purpose, being met at Westminster, he sent to such lords as had sate with the Parliament till 1648, to return to the place where they used to sit, which they did, upon assurance from him, that no others

[1] Lambert had with him Colonels Okey, Axtell and Cobbet, Lieut-Col. Young, Major Creed, Capts. Timothy Clare, Gregory, Spinage and others. Okey, Axtell and Clare escaped. Gumble, Life of Monk, p. 283. Gregory was afterwards Col. Hutchinson's fellow-prisoner in the Tower.

[2] On April 23 the Council of State issued a warrant to Sergeant Northfolk, ordering him to apprehend Lieut.-General Ludlow, and bring him in custody before the Council. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, p. 574.

should be permitted to sit with them; which promise he also broke, and let in not only such as had deserted to Oxford, but the late created lords. And Charles Stuart, eldest son to the late King, being informed of these transactions, left the Spanish territories where he then resided, and by the advice of Monk went to Breda, a town belonging to the States of Holland: from whence he sent his letters and a declaration to the two Houses by Sir John Greenvil; whereupon the nominal House of Commons, tho called by a Commonwealth writ in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, passed a vote, 'That the government of the nation should be by a King, Lords and Commons, and that Charles Stuart should be proclaimed King of England,' &c. 1660

[1] The Convention at Westminster having thought themselves sufficiently authorized to alter the Government, by virtue of which they had been called together, and rewarded Sir John Greenvil for the message he had brought, the proclamation for the readmission of monarchy in the person of Charles Stuart was published on the eighth of May, in the presence of the new General George Monk. Bonfires were made, the bells were rung, and much happiness expected from this change. The officers of the army subscribed a declaration, and presented it to Monk to be sent to the King, in which they expressed a resolution to become true and faithful subjects, and to accept of the King's grace and favour, according to the tenour of his

[1] The third volume of the original edition of these Memoirs begins here. It is said to be 'printed at Vevay in the Canton of Bern, 1699,' and the preface is dated Bern, March 26, 1699. The editor observes: 'When the two former volumes of these Memoirs were published, the author's friends had no design of letting the rest of his papers go abroad; as well because those already printed contain the most remarkable transactions that passed during the whole time that England was governed without a king, as because much of this following part consists of things relating to his own person. But the good reception which the other volumes have found in most parts of Europe, and the incessant inquiries of divers persons of worth and honour concerning these remains, has induced the friends of the author to think that the publick might have just cause to complain, if they should be denied the view of the following papers.'

1660 late Declaration from Breda. Whilst these things were doing, I kept my self private at the house of a particular friend, till I might better understand what the issue was like to be; for the Council of State had, on the day I arrived at London, sent orders into the west of England for seizing my person, which probably might have been served upon me, if I had returned by the usual road. Fifteen commissioners were appointed to be sent to Breda to complement the new King, and to attend him in his passage to England, five to be nominated by the Lords, and ten by the Commons. But every man expecting some mark of favour to be conferred on him for this service, great contentions arose among the members for that employment. To these, many others, especially of the looser sort of men, added themselves; and some, to make an early offer of their subjection, and to provide themselves of favour and places, went over before the commissioners, and being one day with their King in his apartment, boasting of their loyalty and services, he called for wine, and applying himself to the Duke of York, drank to the health of those gentlemen, with this remark, that he was now even with them, having as he thought done as much for them as they had done for him.

May 3. The Committee of Privileges and Elections having declared me to have been duly returned to serve for the borough of Hinden in the county of Wilts, and made their report, which was agreed by the House, I received an order for my admission to sit as a member, but clogged with this unusual clause, that I should attend my duty in the House, and take my place by a certain day; which would be within ten days after the date of the said order [1]. Suspecting that the reason of this insertion might proceed from some information given by the Council of State that

[1] Resolved that this House doth agree with the committee, that Edmund Ludlow, Esquire, who is returned by the proper officer, ought to sit in this House until the merits of the cause upon the double return be determined. Resolved, that Edmund Ludlow, Esquire, do attend the service of this House on this day sennight. C. J. viii. 9.

I had withdrawn my self, I thought fit to make my application to Mr. Arthur Annesly, knowing him to be a leading man among them [1], as well to give him satisfaction touching the cause of my absence, as to learn from him what might be the reason of that addition. And tho' I well understood, that being now declared to be a member of that which was called a House of Commons, no other power could seize me without breach of their privileges; yet the same Council of State still sitting, which had procured from the Secluded Members a power to seize any member that did not sit, and considering that things were carried on with the utmost treachery, I sent a servant to let him know I would wait on him at night. He received me with great civility, and having conducted me to his apartment, I acquainted him, that the end of my coming to him at that time, was to assure him that my late privacy did not proceed from any design that I had on foot against the present power; but that finding the wheel to go round so fast, that it was difficult to guess where it might rest, I thought a man, who had been engaged with the first against the King, and always zealous for a Commonwealth-government, might be excused, if he was unwilling to be found in prison at the King's return; especially since it was well known that a warrant had been signed for my seizure: and therefore I desired he would favour me to inform those that were in power, with the true reasons of my absence. He answer'd, that tho' I had been zealous in the way I mentioned, yet that he and others were well satisfied, that my intentions were directed to the publick good; and tho' he could not blame me for taking measures to avoid a confinement, yet he assured me that a hair of my head should not suffer any more than his own. He then acquainted me with the passages that had happened in the House upon the report from the committee touching my election: that tho' nothing was said against it; yet because I was the person concerned, who, as they said, had 1660

[1] Annesley, soon to be created Earl of Anglesey, was then President of the Council of State.

1660 constantly opposed them, and withdrawn my self out of their protection, a vote of the House had probably passed against agreeing with the committee, if he had not stood up and desired the House, 'that they would not do an act upon a personal distaste, of which they would be ashamed when they should better consider the matter: that justice ought to be impartial, and that nothing being alledged against the report of the committee, it ought to be taken for good: that if the person concerned had done any thing amiss, he being a member ought to answer it in his place.' This motion being seconded by Mr. Matthew Hale, prevailed with the House to allow the report with the addition before mentioned. He took this occasion to tell me, that there was a young head-strong party in the House, who in all debates were for the most violent courses, and that it would be very difficult to keep them in order[1]; yet advised me to take my place in the House as soon as I could. I thought fit to follow his council, not only to undeceive those who thought I would continue in my retirement, but also by coming among them before I was expected, to disturb the measures of those who waited for my ruin. I chose to go into the House early in the morning, and immediately went up into the Speaker's chambers, where I was no sooner sate down, when Major Robert Harley came to me and desired, that if any thing should be objected against me by any member of the House, which he supposed would happen, and that the House should require me to answer, I would by all means forbear to say any thing in justification of the proceedings of the High Court of Justice against the late King, because it would not be suffered. I told him that unless I was constrained, I saw no reason to mention that matter; but in that case, tho' it should cost me my life, I could not prevaricate.

Some of the members, who during the time of the Parliament's prosperity had gone as high with them as

[1] On Hale's part in this Parliament, see Burnet, Own Time, ed. 1833, i. 161.

any others, now reproached me with the present condition of affairs; to whom I contented my self to reply in general, that if they liked it not they might thank themselves; and that as to my own particular, my conscience did not at all accuse me for contributing to the change, or not using my endeavours to prevent it. Others said, they had frequently admonished us that things would be brought to this pass, by rendring the foundations of our party too narrow. But to these I answered, that they knew my principles and practices to have been such in that respect, as had drawn upon me the censures of many. Divers of those who in Richard's Convention had joined with the Commonwealth interest, now appeared to be totally altered, whilst others who had opposed them at that time, now wished for Sir Henry Vane and some others to balance the royal party. But those who had continued in their fidelity to the publick cause, tho' they durst not speak out by reason of the present torrent, yet shook their heads to express their dislike of the present affairs. 1660

The commissioners who had been voted to be sent to Breda being to be nominated that day, I took my place in the House; divers members sollicited me to insert their names in my paper[1]. But tho' it was my fortune to be one of this Convention, that I might not altogether neglect my own preservation; yet resolving to have no part in betraying the Commonwealth, by re-establishing the government, against which I had engaged, and contracting the guilt of that blood which had been shed in the late wars, I determin'd to put in no paper of names. To this end I went out of the House; but the Serjeant at Arms being commanded by the Speaker to call in all the members to be numbred, and seeing me, was very earnest with me May 5.

[1] 'Two glasses were prepared, for every member to put in his paper, of the names of the persons whom he would have to carry the letter to the King's Majesty from this House. The Clerk of the Parliament and Clerk Assistant went to the several members with the glasses, and received of them respectively, sitting in their places, a paper of names; and so both the glasses were brought and set upon the table.' C. J. viii. 14.

1660 to return to the House: I told him, I designed not to put in any paper, and therefore it was not necessary I should be numbred. In the mean time, the Serjeant received fresh orders to summon the members, and repeating his importunity with me, told me plainly, if I would not go into the House, he would inform the Speaker of my refusal; which had he done, 'tis probable I should have been sent to the Tower. But having desired him to inquire of some ancient member, whether it was necessary for one who would put in no paper, to be numbred with the rest; he went to Mr. Pierrepoint and Serjeant Glynn to ask the question; who, I suppose, satisfied the Serjeant it was not necessary: for looking down from the gallery, I perceived both of them to smile whilst he was with them; but especially because I heard no more of that matter.

This business being over, the House fell into a debate touching persons to be entrusted with the Great Seal. All agreed in Mr. Tyrrel; but it was objected against Serjeant Fountain, that tho' he had been formerly for the King, yet he had of late shewed himself a great promoter of the reformation of the law. Many pressed that the Earl of Manchester might be one of the commissioners; but others who were better inform'd of affairs, objecting, that it would be a dishonour to the Earl to be put into a place, which they assured the House was already given away to another person, no more was said concerning him. In the afternoon I went to the Committee of Elections, which sate in the House: another day I sate with the members in the Abby to hear a sermon, and indeavour'd in all things so to carry my self, as to give no occasion to suspect me to be under any apprehensions of danger; hoping by this means to discourage my enemies from moving any thing against me, which I knew the Cavalier party inclined to do out of principle; and divers of those who had served the Parliament, would not fail to comply with, from a prudential care of themselves; hoping not only to make their own peace, by sacrificing those who had been most faithful to

the publick, but also to procure favour and preferment for themselves. 1660

During this time, I had sent orders to my bailiff in Ireland, to sell my stock, which in sheep, black cattle, corn and horses, might amount to about fifteen hundred pounds, and to collect the rents that were due to me from my tenants. But he being negligent, I made over my stock to my brother-in-law, Colonel Kempson, for satisfaction of my sister's portion, pressing him to send some person forthwith to take possession; which not being done with the expedition that was requisite in such a conjuncture, Sir Charles Coote, without any order or pretence of authority from the Parliament, made seisure of all[1]; forcing my tenants to pay my rents to him, and commanding my servant not to dispose of any part of my stock but by his order: only four stone horses which I had bred, and were then in my stable, were taken away by Colonel Theophilus Jones; these men, who had engag'd in the same cause, out-doing our enemies in rage and cruelty to us.

In the Convention things went high, men not daring to shew moderation lest it should be called disaffection to the King; but in private, divers members of both Houses declar'd themselves of opinion, that a general indemnity ought to be granted for all that had passed, without any exception. The Earl of Northumberland was heard to say, that tho' he had no part in the death of the King, he was against questioning those who had been concern'd in that affair; that the example might be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them

[1] 'The Commissioners for the Government have ordered the estates of Col. Robert Phaire, Col. Her. Hunckes, Sir Hardres Walter, Col. Axtell, Justice John Cook, Col. Robert Barrow, Col. Woogan, Col. Ireton, Miles Corbet, Gregory Clement, Edmond Ludlow, Col. Hewson, and Col. John Jones, to be sequestered.' News from Dublin, May 24. Mercurius Publicus, May 31–June 7, 1660. On Feb. 11, 1661, a grant of goods and chattels belonging to Ludlow to the value of £200, which had been seized by Lieut. John Baxter, was made to Coote. Carte MSS. xli. 596. On Kempson see Appendix I.

1660 from the like exorbitancies. And the Lord Fairfax on that subject plainly said, that if any person must be excepted, he knew no man that deserved it more than himself, who being General of the army at that time, and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the King, had not thought fit to make use of it to that end. Divers also of the Commons moved that limitations and conditions might be drawn up, on which they should consent to receive their King; 'till at length finding that Monk who had the power in his hand, gave constant intelligence of all that was said and by whom, none of them durst insist any farther on those heads. And that he might compleat his treachery, when the Lord Say proposed to him, that for the quiet of men's minds, an Act of Indemnity should be passed, in which some of those who had been principally concerned in the death of the King might be excepted; he in a great rage answer'd, 'Not a man; for if I should suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived.' Yet for all this, under colour that the House might have better terms from their King, by relying on his ingenuity than by capitulating with him, especially at a distance, he had the confidence to move them, that their commissioners might be impower'd simply to invite him into England. Which motion concurring with the opinion of the unforeseeing Cavaliers among them, and disliked only by those who had not courage enough to publish their dissent, for fear of exposing themselves to a future revenge, was taken for the sense of the whole House, and so passed.

Sir Charles Coote having opened the bloody scene by the seizure of the Chief Justice Coke in Ireland, a party of the Staffordshire militia, commanded by one Colonel Bowyer, thought themselves sufficiently authorized to act in the like manner; and therefore seized Major-General Harrison with his horses and arms [1], he having refused,

[1] On May 11 the House of Commons was informed that Col. Harrison was 'in the custody of some officers and soldiers under the command of Colonel John Bowyer, in the county of Stafford,' and ordered him to be sent up at once in custody. C. J. viii. 22.

upon advice of their intentions, to withdraw himself from his house, accounting such an action to be a desertion of the cause in which he had engaged; tho' many precepts and examples might be produced, even from the scriptures, to justifie men who endeavour to avoid the cruelty of enemies and persecutors, by removing themselves where they may be protected. For that only can properly be called a desertion of the cause, when men disown it to save their lives, and not when they endeavour to secure themselves by lawful means, in order to promote it. But I shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the Major-General, not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtue, piety, and courage may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture. Sure I am, he was every way so qualified for the part he had in the following sufferings, that even his enemies were astonished and confounded. 1660

The King's party in the House of Commons having got such an ascendent, that it was no longer safe to oppose them, drove on furiously, and procured a resolution to be passed for seizing the persons of all those who had signed the warrant for the execution of the late King[1]; which May 14. though carried with all possible privacy, yet being not destitute of friends among them, I had timely notice of their intentions: and because I doubted not that the house where I liv'd would be suddenly searched, I went to another in Southampton Buildings, belonging to one of my relations, where I had appointed some friends to meet me in the evening, and to bring me an account of what had passed at Westminster. When I came to the house, I found my friends had been in great pain for me; the time that I had appointed for our meeting being pass'd by almost two hours, through the fault of my watch. Upon the account I received of the state of our affairs, we enter'd

[1] On May 14 the House of Commons resolved 'that all those persons who sat in judgment upon the late King's Majesty when the sentence was pronounced for his condemnation be forthwith secured.' John Cooke, Andrew Broughton, John Phelpes, Edward Dendy and Cornet Joyce were also to be arrested, and Cooke was to be sent over from Ireland. C. J. viii. 25.

1660 into a debate concerning the course I should take to preserve my self from the danger that threatned me; and the company advised that I should forthwith remove from the house where I was, because the entrance was in so publick a place that it was probable I might have been observ'd at my coming in: for this reason I consented to go immediately to the house of another friend, which was not far distant, and had a back gate leading to several other houses, with an intention to stay there till night, and then to repair to a more private place in London, which had been prepared for me some days before. Night being come, and I ready to depart, my friend, tho' not insensible of the danger that might ensue by entertaining me, would by no means let me go, alledging, that on the night of that day, when a resolution of such importance had passed the House, the watch in London would not fail of their accustomed diligence. This being seconded by some of my nearest relations, who also advised me to stay, I was contented to acquiesce; and the next morning was informed that the watch had hardly permitted any coach to pass into London without some kind of search.

May 17. The order for seizing the King's judges, not producing that sudden effect the Commons expected, provoked them to such a degree, that they commanded their real and personal estates to be forthwith seized in an extraordinary manner, contrary, I presume, to the known laws, which provide that no confiscation shall be made till after conviction[1]. But it ought not to seem strange, that those who had so far parted with their prudence, to recal from a twelve years' banishment, the son of a father whose head had been publickly taken off, and invest him with the government of a nation where this had been done,

[1] The House voted, May 17, the seizure of the estates of those of the regicides who had fled instead of allowing themselves to be arrested. A vote for stopping all the ports to prevent their escape passed the same day. Ludlow's name was reported by the Council of State in a list of persons against whom warrants had been granted, but who were not yet apprehended. C. J. viii. 34.

should be no more sollicitous for the privileges of their countrymen. 1660

The House having received information that Major-General Harrison was brought prisoner to London, they order'd him to be sent to the Tower, and that all his horses which had been taken from him by those who had seized him at his house, should be brought to the stables in the Mewse, for the use of their King. Chief Justice Coke being also sent to London by Sir Charles Coote, was by another order committed prisoner to the same place. May 21. May 19.

In the mean time the commissioners sent from England to attend the new King, arrived at Breda, where Mr. Denzil Hollis, according to the instructions he had received at Westminster to impart their message to the King, going about to execute that order, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. Henry Howard, brother to the Earl of Arundel, who said, it was insolent in him to pretend that honour, which belonged to another of the commissioners, and named one that was his own kinsman. But Mr. Hollis affirming, that the House had entrusted him with their complements and desires, the King thought fit to make up the difference, and to suffer Mr. Hollis to perform his part. Fifty thousand pounds were sent over by these commissioners to pay the debts of the King, and to equip him for his journey to England, together with considerable sums of mony for the Dukes of York and Glocester. Divers private persons also had taken care to make their presents. Among others, Mr. William Lenthal, late Speaker of the Parliament, had commissionated a friend to give the King three thousand pounds from him, and to desire that he might continue Master of the Rolls; but the person he had employ'd was told, that the place was already promised to another.

Whilst these things were doing in Holland, the House of Commons were preparing a Bill of Indemnity with all possible diligence, that it might be ready to pass at the arrival of the King. They unanimously agreed, that some of the King's judges should be excepted both as to life and estate, the remaining dispute being only about the

1660 number. Some proposed, that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen: but Monk who had betray'd them all, expressing his desires to be for moderation, they were reduced to nine, which that boutefeu Pryn, contrary to the orders of the House, undertook to name. Yet I was so far obliged to him, that my name was not upon his list. Monk at last prevailed with the House to bring the number to seven [1].

Colonel John Jones, who had acted as a member of the High Court of Justice, being walking one evening at some distance from his lodging to take the air, was seized, and sent prisoner to the Tower by order of the House [2]; together with Mr. Gregory Clement another of those judges, who had conceal'd himself at a mean house near Gray's Inn. But some persons having observ'd that better provisions were carried to that place than had been usual, procured an officer to search the house, where they found Mr. Clement, and presuming him to be one of the King's judges, tho' they knew him not personally, carried him before the commissioners of the militia for that precinct: one of these commissioners, to whom he was not unknown, after a slight examination, had prevailed with the rest to dismiss him; but as he was about to withdraw, it happen'd that a blind man who had crowded into the room, and was acquainted with the voice of Mr. Clement, which was very remarkable, desired he might be called in again; and demanded, if he was not Mr. Gregory Clement. The commissioners not knowing how to refuse his request, permitted the question to be ask'd; and he not denying himself to be the man, was by that means discovered, and sent to the Tower likewise [3].

[1] The Bill of Indemnity was read a first time on May 9, and a second time on May 12. On May 14 it was resolved that seven regicides should be excepted.

[2] The arrest of Jones was reported June 2.

[3] On May 26 Annesley reported to the House of Commons, that Clement had been committed to the Tower by the Council of State on the previous day. Corbet's escape was reported on May 31, and Carew's on June 2; but the latter was seized at Plymouth two or three days later. An account of Clement's seizure is given in the Kingdom's Intelligencer, May 22–29.

Many of the judges passed over into Holland and other parts beyond the seas [1], divers of them not without great danger of being surprized [2]. Of these, Mr. Cornelius Holland being at Colchester, in order to depart with the first occasion, the mayor of the town was inform'd that a suspected person was lodged at a certain inn; and that they supposed him to be Major-General Lambert. Upon this notice the inn was searched, and his horse with other things seized at four in the morning: but Mr. Holland was already gone abroad to receive a sum of mony from a merchant of the place, who was to begin a journey to London early that day; and having received advice of what had passed at the inn, he was by the favour of a friend convey'd out of town, and by that means made his escape. 1660

The new King being suddenly expected, great numbers of those who had been officers in the Cavalier army, or were otherwise zealous for him, procured horses and cloths, for the most part upon credit, and formed themselves into troops under the Lord Litchfield, Lord Cleveland, and that apostate Brown the wood-monger, in order to attend him at his reception. And news being brought that he was put out to sea, Monk, accompanied with a guard of horse, marched to Dover, and received him at his landing: the King embraced him, kissed him, and called him father; and it might be truly said, that in some respects they were very nearly allied. At Canterbury the King presented him with the George and Garter; the first was put on by the Duke of York, the other by the Duke of Gloucester. And because it was suspected that the army which had fought against him, might still retain some of their former inclinations: it was resolved that the King, with his brothers, shall May 22. May 25.

[1] 'It was this day advertised that John Lisle, Esquire, lately one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and who was in great danger to be attainted for many horrid murders, had escaped out of the Isle of Wight into Diepe in France, which cost him a round sum of money. It was advertised also that Coll. Okey and Coll. Hewson had made their escapes.' The Kingdom's Intelligence, May 22–29, 1660.

[2] Sir Henry Mildmay was arrested at Rye and Col. John Desborough in Essex. C. J. viii. 38, 39.

1660 May 28. lodge at the house of Colonel Gibbons, one of their officers, at Rochester. Many knights were made in this journey, and bonfires were to be seen in great numbers on the road; the inconstant multitude in some places burning the badges of their own freedom, the arms of the Commonwealth. Monk's army was drawn up on Blackheath, and by the best judges was thought to deserve the fool's coat rather than the souldier's casaque.

May 29. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of the City, treated their King with a collation under a tent, placed in St. George's Fields; and five or six hundred citizens cloathed in coats of black velvet, and (not improperly) wearing chains about their necks, by an order of the Common Council, attended on the triumph of that day; with much more empty pageantry which I purposely omit: but I must not pass over the folly and insolence manifested at that time by those who had been so often defeated in the field, and had contributed nothing either of bravery or policy to this change, in ordering the souldiery to ride with swords drawn through the city of London to White-Hall, the Duke of York and Monk leading the way; and intimating (as was supposed) a resolution to maintain that by force which had been obtain'd by fraud.

May 29. The Lords, with those who sate in the House of Commons, received the King at Whitehall after this tedious cavalcade, where the Speakers of both Houses loaded him with complements; and took the best care they could to make him believe himself to be the best, greatest and bravest prince in the whole world. His answer to them was short, by reason, as he said, of his present discomposure caused by the great acclamations he had received in his passage, which yet he pretended had been very agreeable to him, as they were expressions of the affections of his people.

Most of those who had attended this entry, finding the streets through which they had passed to be full of people, returned to the City by the way of Holborn; by which means I had a view of them from the house where I then was. And, I confess, it was a strange sight to me, to see

the horse that had formerly belonged to our army, now put upon an employment so different from that which they had at first undertaken; especially, when I consider'd that for the most part they had not been raised out of the meanest of the people, and without distinction, as other armies had been; but that they consisted of such as had engaged themselves from a spirit of liberty in the defence of their rights and religion: but having been corrupted under the tyranny of Cromwel, and kept up as a standing force against the people, they had forgotten their first engagements, and were become as mercenary as other troops are accustomed to be. 1660

The dissolution and drunkenness of that night was so great and scandalous, in a nation which had not been acquainted with such disorders for many years past, that the King, who still stood in need of the Presbyterian party which had betray'd all into his hands, for their satisfaction, caused a proclamation to be publish'd, forbidding the drinking of healths[1]. But resolving, for his own part, to be oblig'd to no rule of any kind, he publickly violated his own order in a few days, at a debauch in the Mulberry Garden; and more privately at another meeting in the City, where he drank healths to the utmost excess till two in the morning. May 30.

The Bill of Indemnity being not yet finished, the Commons, out of a tender care for their own persons and estates, resolving to make it ready with all diligence, proceeded to the nomination of the seven persons who were to be excepted for condemning the late King to death; and having agreed that Major-General Harrison, John Lisle, Esq. and William Say, Esq., should be three of that number, it was contrived that a letter should be brought to Monk at that instant (not without suspicion that he was the author of the design, to the end I might be inserted) informing him, that I was in arms at the head

[1] The king's proclamation 'against vicious, debauched, and profane persons,' May 30, 1660, is reprinted in Kennet's Register, p. 167. See also Pepys, June 4.

1660 of several hundred men, in one of the islands called the Holmes, and had declared against this Convention. The letter being communicated to the House, who were ready to give credit to any thing of that nature, had probably answered the end of the contrivers of this design, if something, of which I was not inform'd, had not obliged them to adjourn abruptly. Yet upon this alarum, one of my friends in this house, who had served in the King's army, and to whom I had been formerly useful at the time of his composition, came in a great surprize to one that was his sister-in-law, and also related to me, acquainting her with the report; and telling her that he had engaged many members, that were of the King's party, to be for me; but that, if this should prove to be true, neither they nor he could possibly serve me; and therefore desired her to give me notice with all diligence of what had passed, that I might take some course to satisfie the Parliament of the falshood of this rumour. She promised him to endeavour so to do, and in the mean time assured him that she knew the report to be false. Upon this assurance, which he immediately reported to the party above-mention'd, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to pass, that when they proceeded to compleat the number of seven, who were to be excepted both for life and estate, and had agreed that
June 6. Colonel John Jones, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Thomas Scot, should be added to the three before mentioned, a motion being made by one Colonel Skipwith that I might be the seventh man, he was not seconded: so that another member proposing Colonel Barkstead, and no man daring to say any thing either in extenuation of the pretended crime, or commendation of the persons con-
June 7. cerned, he was voted to fill up the number[1]. Chief Justice Coke, who had been Sollicitor to the High Court of Justice, Mr. Broughton who had been Clark, and Mr. Edward Dendy their Serjeant at Arms, were also excepted in the

[1] Harrison was excepted on June 5. On June 6, William Say, John Jones, Thomas Scot, Cornelius Holland, John Lisle, and John Barkstead were added.

same manner. And that no means of gratifying the passions of our enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that some of the late King's judges were fled, order'd their estates to be seized; it was contrived by the creatures of the Court, who were a great part of the House, that a petition should be drawn and presented to the King, to issue out a proclamation for requiring all those of the late King's judges and others therein named, to surrender themselves within the space of fourteen days, under pain of exception from the benefit of the Act, both for life and estate[1]. 1660

This petition having had its rise from the Court, and on that account received with joy by the King, soon produced a proclamation as had been desired, which being published near my lodgings, I heard the officer distinctly, as he read it aloud to the people. But I found it difficult to resolve what to do: for tho' the message from Breda had declared the King would be satisfied, if some few persons who had an immediate hand in the death of his father, might be excepted from the indemnity; yet finding himself now possess'd of the throne, 'twas visible to all men that he used the utmost of his endeavours to influence the House of Commons to greater severities than were at first pretended; and partly for rapine, partly for revenge, to except a great number of those, who had taken part with the Parliament, from any benefit of the Act except only as to life, their estates being declared to be confiscated to the King[2]. Among those who appeared the most basely subservient to these exorbitancies of the Court, Mr. William Prynn was singularly remarkable, bringing in a clause for excepting all those who had taken the oath at the Council of State June 6.

[1] This proclamation, probably drawn up by Prynne, was agreed to by the Commons on June 2, and by the Lords on June 4. It is printed in L. J. xi. 52.

[2] On June 9 the Commons named fifty-two regicides, including Ludlow, 'to be excepted out of the general act of pardon and oblivion, for, and in respect only of such pains, penalties and forfeitures (not extending to life) as shall be thought fit to be inflicted on them by another Act, intended to be hereafter passed for that purpose.' C. J. viii. 61.

1660 for abjuring the family of the Stuarts, which the Clark undertaking to read without any order of the House, Mr. Clergies brother-in-law to Monk, perceiving that Vice-Admiral Lawson would by this means be excluded from pardon, and knowing that Monk had engaged to bring him off clear, most sharply rebuked the Clark for his officiousness, and with the help of his friends put a stop to that motion[1].

The Commons being acquainted, by Sir Harbottle Grimeston their Speaker, that Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. Simon Mayne, and others of the late King's judges had rendred themselves into his hands according to the late proclamation, order'd them to be in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the House[2]: which when some of my friends and relations heard, they consulted what might be best for me to do in this conjuncture. Some were of opinion I should surrender my self as others had done. Others were unwilling to advise in a case wherein my life was concerned; yet gave some obscure intimation, that if they were in my condition, they would not put themselves into the hands of their enemies: and one of them who was not unacquainted with the publick affairs, gave it for his opinion, that I should by no means render my self. Of this I received an account of my wife. But not being in the number of the seven who were to be excepted, and my affairs by reason of the sudden change

[1] Sir Thomas Clarges member for Westminster. He also had a share in the credit of saving Milton. Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 185–189.

[2] The Speaker announced to the House of Commons at successive sittings of the House the surrender of the following regicides, viz.: William Heveningham (June 9), Col. Thomas Wayte, Simon Mayne, and Peter Temple (June 13), Isaac Pennington (June 15), Alderman Titchborne, Col. George Fleetwood, and James Temple (June 16), Sir John Bourchier, Col. Owen Roe, and Col. Robert Lilburne (June 18), Col. Adrian Scroope, Augustine Garland, Col. Edmund Harvey, and Henry Smith (June 19), Henry Marten and Sir Hardress Waller (June 20), Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow (June 21), Thomas Wogan (June 27). Downes, Millington, and Potter also surrendered, and Dixwell announced his intention of giving himself up. The procedure relative to the regicides and the Bill of Indemnity is admirably treated by Masson, Life of Milton, vol. vi. chap. i.

altogether unsettled, I was willing to improve the present opportunity, and if I might have no favour in relation to my estate, yet to settle at least my private affairs as well as I could. To this end I inclined to surrender my self according to the proclamation, and drew up a petition containing in substance, that whereas I had engaged with the Parliament on the behalf of the Commonwealth, and had discharged the trust reposed in me with as much tenderness to those of the contrary party as my fidelity to the Parliament would permit, providence having order'd that the former Government should be re-established in this nation, I thought it my duty as a member of the Commonwealth, to declare my resolution to submit to the present powers, that I might with the rest of the good people of England enjoy the benefit of their protection. Having signed this paper, and presuming upon the friendship of Mr. Annesley, I sent it to him by my wife desiring his advice. But he being lately sworn a Privy Counsellor, and with his condition altering his manners, when he had perused the paper, he delivered it again to my wife and said, that the Lieutenant-General was very good at drawing letters of recommendation. My wife told him, that what was contained in that paper was as much as my conscience would give me leave to say; and received for answer, that then I should do better to say nothing; which was not altogether without reason; for some of those who had petitioned the House, and not acknowledged themselves guilty of a fault, were for that cause excepted, who otherwise, as men thought, would not have been so treated. 1660

There being some relation between the Earl of Ormond and me, I directed my wife to apply her self to him on this occasion. He received her with great civilities, and made her large promises, pressing her with great importunity to acquaint him, if I were in England. But she desired to be excused in that particular, as a thing not proper to be communicated to any person in such a conjuncture. In the mean time my friend, whom I mentioned before, continued

1660 to advise that I should not by any means render my self, affirming that the House of Lords would not fail to make some addition to the exceptions, and that some of them had intimated that I was likely to be one. Being not a little surprized with this information, tho' the reasons above mentioned inclined me to surrender my self, yet I was unwilling to expose my life to the fancies of such an uncertain sort of men; and therefore by my direction, my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimeston, and acquainted him with the state of my affairs, and the doubts which I lay under, of which he seemed very sensible, communicating his thoughts very freely to her, and telling her, that it was his opinion the Lords would rest satisfied with what had been done; but if they should not, it would be the most horrid thing in the world, should the House of Commons agree with them in excepting any man who had render'd himself: but withal acquainted her, that the House was so composed, that no man could undertake to tell what they would not do; adding, that he should dine that day with Mr. Hollis and other leading men of the Parliament, and that he would inform himself from them touching that particular, of which he would then give her the best advice he could. The time which he had fixed being come, my wife went to him again, and was informed by him, that he had been with that company he had mentioned to her, and had found them all to be of opinion that the House would never be guilty of so unworthy an action; and therefore advised her to persuade me to come in, giving her an order under his hand to secure me from any seizure in my way to him, and promising to speak to the Serjeant at Arms to be moderate in his demands of caution for my appearance. Under the favour of this warrant I went to a place where divers of my friends were, in order to seal some writings for settling my private affairs, which was the principal motive that had prevailed with me to render my self; and having dispatch'd that business, I went to the Speaker's chamber; who being not
June 20. there, I took Mr. James Herbert, a member of the Conven-

tion, with me to the house of the Serjeant at Arms, where finding that he had received orders from Sir Harbottle Grimeston concerning me, Mr. Herbert gave his word for my appearance, till I should procure personal security. This engagement made me very uneasie; for I thought my self oblig'd, what-ever might become of me, to take care that Mr. Herbert might not suffer for his friendship to me. But after two or three days I prevailed with the Serjeant to accept the security I had provided: they were, my unkle Colonel Thomas Stradling, who had been constantly of the King's party; and by being engaged for some debts of his brother Sir Edward Stradling, had ruin'd his fortune: the second was Colonel Edward Sutton, one knighted by the King since his return, and who had no other estate than in the right of his wife [1]. The third was one Mr. Etherington, who had been possessor of a considerable estate; but for many years past had not been worth any thing: the fourth was Thomas Ashton, a citizen of London, who had been my taylor; but was now in the same condition with Mr. Etherington. Colonel Sutton was arrested as he was coming to me, and by that means prevented; Mr. Etherington being furnished with a clean band, hat and cloak, passed without dispute; so did Ashton, and of Colonel Stradling there was no colour to doubt. I gave the two first a little mony, with which they were well pleased; and I was abundantly satisfied that this business passed thus over. 1660

When Sir Harbottle Grimeston had reported to the House that I had render'd my self, and desired to know their pleasure concerning me; some of my friends moved that I might be continued in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, which being put to the question, was accordingly order'd [2]. Whilst these things were doing, my Lady Vane June 21.

[1] Sutton's letter of apology to Lady Ludlow is printed in Cal. S. P., 1660–1, p. 80. On Stradling see Cal. S. P., 1659–60, p. 405. Lieut.-Col. Thomas Hunt, who had taken part in Penruddocke's rising, petitioned for the benefit of the bail-bond for £3,000 forfeited by Ludlow's escape, and obtained it. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1661–2, pp. 180, 183, 255. He was an ancestor of Orator Hunt.

[2] On June 21 the Speaker reported to the House 'that Lieut.-

1660 told my wife, that Mrs. Monk had said, she would go upon her knees to the King, and beg that Sir Henry Vane, Major-General Lambert, and Lieutenant-General Ludlow, might die without mercy; and one of my friends who frequented the Court, assured me, he heard Monk saying to the King, that there was not a man in the three nations more violent against him, or more dangerous to his interests than I was; to which the King made answer, that he had been otherwise informed by many of his party, who had received civilities from me in their troubles. But that which made me most sensible of my danger, was, that Secretary Maurice, with whom I had been acquainted for some time, not knowing that I had rendred my self to the Speaker, told a person whom he knew to be my friend, that where-ever I was, I should do well to be upon my guard; for if I should be taken, I was a dead man.

Some members of this Convention, who had engaged to do me all the good offices they could, presuming the House would proceed forthwith to impose certain fines upon those of the late King's judges who had rendred themselves; and therefore desiring to see a particular of my estate, that they might know how to moderate my fine when it should be debated, I drew it up as well as I could at that distance from my papers, and sent it to them. And now my friends supposing my business to go on prosperously in the House of Commons, began to apply themselves to the Lords on my behalf, in case they should add any farther exceptions to the Bill of Indemnity; and received promises of assistance from all they thought fit to ask, except only the Earl of Northampton; who said to my wife's father, that I had been a great enemy to the King: however, I made the best use I could of this time in settling my private affairs; and my brother Kempson had prevail'd with my Lord

Gen. Ludlow who sat as one of the judges upon the late King's majesty, had rendered himself unto him yesterday, in conformity to his Majesty's proclamation. Ordered, that Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow be taken into custody by the Serjeant at Arms attending the House; and so continued till further order.' C. J. viii. 70.

Broghil to write to Sir Charles Coote, that my stock might be delivered to him upon security to be responsible where it should be adjudged to belong. But Coote was so far from satisfying either his own conscience or the Lord Broghil in this matter, that fearing I might be in a condition to call him to account for the injustice he had done to me; he wrote a letter to the King, in which having first inveyed against me as the most bitter of all his enemies; he informed him, that dining with me one day at my house, I had assured him, that Cromwel had not proceeded to extremities against the late King, if I had not pressed him, and almost forced him to that resolution: and for confirmation of the truth of this, he desired that the Lord Broghil, who, he said, had dined with me the same day, might be interrogated. But when the King asked my Lord Broghil concerning this business, he protested, he had not charged his memory with any such thing; adding, that he thought it unbecoming a man of honour to remember any thing to the prejudice of a gentleman who had spoken freely at his own table. 1660

The army being not yet disbanded, the King thought convenient in some measure still to cajeole the Presbyterian party; and therefore Mr. Richard Baxter, and Mr. Edmund Calamy, were appointed to be his chaplains in ordinary. But he could not forbear, on some occasions, to discover his contempt of the men of that sort, particularly when Mr. Case, who thought he had deserved highly of the King, would have pressed with his usual freedom into his presence; and being denied entrance, had sent in his name, tho' in answer to his importunity he was admitted; yet by the carriage of those who were present, and derided his habit and unmannerly way of approaching the King, he might easily perceive how disagreeable his company was in that place. Yet the King having demanded what he had to say, he told him he had a word of advice to his majesty; and going on to perswade him to a care of his party, he was interrupted by the King, who said he did not remember that he had made him one of his council. How-

1660 ever, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Roberts, and Mr. Denzil Hollis, were sworn of his Privy Council ; and the Earl of Manchester made Chamberlain of the Houshold. But Monk, for a reward of his treachery to those who had entrusted him, not only received the Garter, but was continued to be General of all the forces ; and obtained the parchment honour of Duke
July 7. of Albermarle, with divers pensions and lands of great value. To these favours was added the charge of Master of the Horse, which by the industry of his wife, who having been an Exchange-woman knew how to drive a bargain, was by the sale of places improved to the utmost advantage.

Having acquainted those who had answered for my appearance at the time when they entred into that obligation, of my intentions to withdraw my self, if I should find my life in danger ; I took care at all times when the House was sitting, least I should be surprized and seized by an order from them, to cause the gates of my house, which were divers, to be well guarded ; and for the most part retired to some other place during that time. When the House was up, I used to take more liberty, having daily advice from some members of what had passed among them.

The Bill of Indemnity being brought to the Lords, a great contention arose concerning the number of persons to be excepted ; the widow of Dr. Hewet, with Mrs. Penruddock, and divers others solliciting them with such importunity for particular satisfaction, on account of their relations who had been put to death, that they found themselves oblig'd to appoint a committee to hear their demands. The Lords also were inclined to revenge their own order on the persons of some in the High Court of Justice, by whom some of their number had been condemn'd, and to except one of the judges for every lord they had put to death ; the nomination of the person to be excepted being referred to that lord who was most nearly related to the person that had suffered. According to this rule, Colonel Croxton was nominated by the next relation to the Earl of Derby, Major Waring by the kinsman

of another, and Colonel Titchburn by a third: the Earl of Denbigh, whose sister had been married to the Duke of Hamilton, being desired by the Lords to nominate one to be excepted, in satisfaction for the death of his brother-in-law, named a person who had been some time dead, of which some of the House being inform'd, they called upon him to name another; but he said, that since it had so fallen out, he desired to be excused from naming any more[1]. This action, tho' seeming to proceed from chance, was generally esteemed to have been voluntary, the Earl of Denbigh being known to be a generous man, and a lover of his country. 1660 Aug. 7.

And now the royal party, in the House of Lords, began to discover their intentions to except all the King's judges from the benefit of the indemnity, which was communicated to me by Sir John Winter, secretary to the queen-mother, in a visit he made me at my house: he also inform'd me, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and the Marquis of Argyle, had been seized and sent to the Tower by the King's order. In conclusion, he said, that whilst the King was treating with Monk about his restitution, and considering that I was then at the head of the Parliament's forces in Ireland, he had acquainted him, that he had no greater difficulty to encounter than how to prevent me from obstructing the design; and that he would have given me any conditions, to have been assured of my service: from all which considerations, he advised me rather to withdraw my self, than to submit to the mercy of my enemies.

Colonel Ingoldsby, on account of his service in the suppression of the party that had follow'd Major-General

[1] The House of Lords made elaborate enquiry into the case of the peers executed by High Courts of Justice, and on Aug. 2 excepted John Blackwell, Col. Thomas Croxton, William Wyberd, and Edmund Waring from the Act, as having sat amongst the judges of the Earl of Derby, Lord Capel and the Duke of Hamilton (L. J. xi. 129). The Earl of Derby named Col. Croxton; Lord Paget, for Lord Holland whose daughter he had married, named John Blackwell; Lord Capel, Edmund Waring; and Lord Denbigh, for Hamilton who had married his sister, named Wyberd. Fifth Report, Hist. MSS. Comm. pp. 155, 199, 207. Ludlow's statement about Denbigh is confirmed by L. J. xi. 136.

1660 Lambert, was not excepted from the Act; nor Colonel
July 23. Hutchinson, though he had bin as zealous against the late King, at the time of his tryal, as any other of his judges. But having joyned with Monk in his treacherous design, he had obtained a pardon from the King, whilst he was beyond sea[1]. It was agreed in the House, that Colonel Adrian Scroop and Colonel Lassels should have the benefit of the
Aug. 6. Act, paying one year's value of their estates. Major Lister was not inserted, as was supposed, by the credit and interest of Mr. William Pierrepoint; and Colonel Thomlinson was excused upon information given to the House
Aug. 1. by Mr. Seymour, that the late King, when he waited on him a day or two before he suffered, signified to him his pleasure, that the colonel should receive favour on account of his civil carriage to him, during his confinement. But the son would not think this to be sufficient for his exemption; declaring to some about him, that he ought of all men to be excepted, because he had an opportunity, and a fair offer to let his father escape, which he refused. On this ground the Earl of Litchfield moved for his exception: but the Earl of Bristol being engaged for Thomlinson, and presuming to be better acquainted with the King's intentions, undertook to reprove the Earl of Litchfield so sharply, that the dispute had almost ended in a quarrel[2].

These contestations and delays in finishing the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, made the people not only murmur, but begin to doubt, that nothing of that nature would be passed for their security; especially, after the Earl of Bristol had made a speech in the House of Lords, which according to his manner of ostentation he caused to be printed[3]; where after much boasting of his important employments abroad, he desired that the Act might pass with the exception only of those who had a hand in the death of the King, who, he moved, might be more par-

[1] See Hutchinson's petition and the statement drawn up on his behalf, printed in 7th Report of Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 120, and in Mrs. Hutchinson's Life of her husband, ed. 1885, ii. 392.

[2] On Thomlinson see 7th Report Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 123.

[3] Reprinted in the old Parliamentary History, xxii. 388.

ticularly described in another bill to be drawn for that purpose. By which no man could know whether he intended not, that not only his judges and the members who sate after the year 1648, with those who petitioned for justice against him, but even all those who had in any way contributed to make war for the Parliament should be excepted. But the Court having not yet disbanded the army, would not venture too far in irritating the people; and therefore pressed that the bill might be hastened to a conclusion. 1660

Great endeavours were used by the friends of those who had been excepted in the House of Commons, to procure them to be omitted by the Lords: and the Earl of Litchfield solliciting the Lord Sturton for his vote in the behalf of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, received his promise to that effect, on condition he would engage to be for me on the like occasion. Of this the Lord Sturton informed me in a visit he and his lady were pleased to make me in that conjuncture.

Having observed which way the Lords inclined, I drew up the state of the case, as well as I could, of those who had rendred themselves upon the proclamation, accompanied with such reasons as then occurr'd to my thoughts, why the House of Commons should not agree to any enlargement of the exceptions made by them: this paper I design'd for the press; but having sent it to Mr. Henry Martin for his opinion, he returned for answer, that unless my name were subscribed, the House of Lords would not fail to call it a libel; and therefore advised that it should be presented in the form of a petition, upon which I laid it aside.

Divers messages were sent from Whitehall by Hyde and others to the Lords, for the dispatch of the bill; but meeting with little success, by reason of many obstructions that were continually laid in the way, the King came in person to the House, and pressed them to expedition, thanking the Lords for excepting those who had been the judges of the King his father; 'who,' he said, 'were guilty of

1660 July 27. such a crime, that they could not pardon themselves, much less expect it from others[1].' By which he not only manifested his own revengeful temper, and the little regard he had to the promise he had made in his proclamation from Breda, to refer himself wholly to the Parliament for pardoning what had been done during the late troubles; but his imprudence in this so early violation of the privileges of the Parliament, by taking notice of what was depending in the two Houses, before it came to be judicially presented to him; and by that means fomenting a division between them concerning an affair in which he himself was principally interested. He told them, 'other ways might be found to meet with those who were of turbulent and factious spirits'; insinuating, if I mistake not, that his intentions were not to be guided by the direction of the laws, but that he had some secret reserves to render the Act of Indemnity insignificant; concluding with desires, that they would be careful to make provision for his Irish subjects, who had manifested great affection to him during his exile; expressing the same zeal in the latter part of his speech for the bloody Irish rebels, as he had done in the former, against those who had dared to defend the liberties of England. And by this means the Irish grew immediately to that confidence, that one Fitz-harris publickly affirmed in Westminster Hall, that they were the best subjects the King had; and for that reason should be soon restored to the possession of their lands; of which the House being informed, they committed him to the Gate-house; but after two days, he was by the prevalency of the court faction discharged from his imprisonment.

The King, who had not only an inclination to re-establish the Irish in their estates, but had by a treaty formerly made with them, obliged himself to that condition, found no small difficulty to carry fair with those of the army, who were concerned in the confiscated lands. He was not willing to send any one into that government, who should be ungrateful to the Irish; and durst not employ such as

[1] Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 397.

he and they desired, for fear of the English: for an expedient therefore, it was proposed that the Lord Roberts should be sent as Deputy to Monk, who when he contracted to sell his masters, had desired the Lieutenancy of Ireland for himself: but being told, that if he would have that employment, he must go over and execute it in his own person; he thought not convenient to accept it on those terms, apprehending that it would be no hard matter to supplant and ruin him in his absence. However, the Lord Roberts had the title of Deputy, and was addressed by that name; but finding he had only served for a present occasion, he desired to be recalled from that employment. 1660

Finding my friends to grow every day more apprehensive of the dangers that threatned me, I removed from my house; and on this occasion received a signal testimony of the friendship of Chief Justice Coke, who being little sollicitous for himself, solemnly protested in a message he sent me, that if he were in no hazard on this occasion, he would willingly lay down his life to secure mine, who he was pleased to say, might be more useful to the publick, than he could hope to be.

The Earl of Antrim, an Irish papist, and principally concerned in the rebellion of that country, had been seized at the same time with the Marquis of Argyle, tho' for a different reason; the latter for his services in the cause of liberty and religion, the former for unseasonably affirming, that the Irish were authorized by the late King to act as they had done. Both these lords coming to London to congratulate the restitution of the King, were sent to the Tower; the Laird of Swintown was also made prisoner, and sent in custody to the same place. The cause of his seizure was at first reported to be for designing to stab the King, as he was pretending to cure the disease called the King's evil: but afterwards they changed their language, and gave out that it was for deserting the Scots after the battle of Dunbar, and rendring himself to Oliver Cromwell. Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig were also seized,

1660 under the pretext that they had endeavoured to persuade divers officers of the army to form a party in order to oppose the present power. But this soon appeared to be a fiction, and that the design was to take away their lives by any means; the King, when he heard they were in custody, offering to lay a wager they should not escape. Colonel Axtel, who had behaved himself honestly and bravely in the service of the Commonwealth, was about the same time trapann'd by a Cavalier under pretence of treating with him for the purchase of some lands, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

The Lords being pressed, as I mention'd before, to dispatch the Act of Indemnity, came at last to this result, touching the twenty persons proposed by the Commons to be excepted from all other benefit of the Act except only as
Aug. 1. to life, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Major-General Lambert, and Colonel Axtel, should be excepted both as to life and estate; the other sixteen to be made uncapable of any office or employment in church or state. The news of this resolution being carried to the King by the Duke of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and Monk, he openly expressed his joy; and when they told him, that the Chief Justice St. Johns had narrowly escaped, he wish'd he had been added also; of which particulars I received information by a person of honour then present, immediately after they had parted.

The next thing to be considered, was how to treat those of the late King's judges who had rendred themselves upon the proclamation, which held no long debate; those who were inclined to do that which was just, decent and reasonable, being far the lesser number: yet the Earl of Southampton had the courage to move, that since it was not thought fit to secure the lives of those who had been induced to surrender their persons upon the faith of the proclamation, they ought at least to give them the like number of days for saving themselves, as were appointed by that paper for their coming in: but Finch, who had formerly fled from the justice of the Parliament, opposed

that motion, and said, that by such means they might be enabled to do more mischief (as he knew had happened in his own case): upon this, Mr. Thomas Challoner, with those of the judges who had rendred themselves, were put into the exception for life and estate; Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Robert Wallop, the Lord Mounson, Sir James Harrington, Mr. James Challoner, and Mr. John Phelps, were excepted from receiving any benefit of their estates, and subjected to such farther punishments as should be inflicted upon them, their lives only to be preserved: Colonel Hacker, who was one of those to whom the warrant of the High Court of Justice for the execution of the King had been directed, together with Mr. Hugh Peters, and the two persons who were in mask upon the scaffold when he was beheaded, were excepted by the Lords both for life and estate. 1660 Aug. 1.

The Bill[1] with these alterations being sent down to the House of Commons for their concurrence, they seemed unwilling to sacrifice those, who upon invitation and promise of favour, had rendred themselves; and therefore refused to consent to the exception of Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, and Major-General Lambert from the benefit of the Act as to their lives; some of them saying in the House, that those gentlemen having had no immediate hand in the death of the King, there was as much reason to except most of themselves. Yet they agreed to except Colonel Daniel Axtel, Mr. Hugh Peters, and the rest as desired. And to shew their readiness to gratify the revenge of those at the helm with the blood of as many as they could find any colour to abandon; being inform'd that Mr. John Carew, who had not at all conceal'd himself, had been seized by a warrant from a justice of the peace; that his name being mistaken in the warrant, and the officer refusing to detain him till that error should be amended, Aug. 10.

[1] The Bill of Indemnity passed the Commons on July 11, and the Lords having read it for the third time on Aug. 10, sent it back to the Commons with their amendments. For the debates concerning these amendments, see Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 419.

1660 Mr. Carew had told him that he was, as he conceiv'd, the person designed to be seized, and therefore acquainted him with the place to which he was going; yet for all this (tho' happening within the fourteen days limited by the proclamation, and on the way to London, where such persons were directed to render themselves) the major part of the
Aug. 28. House of Commons voted this not to be a surrender, and excepted him both in life and estate [1]. Mr. Gregory Clement being already a prisoner in the Tower, was put into the same condition: and Colonel Adrian Scroop, tho' he had rendred himself within the time limited by the
June 9. proclamation, and tho' the Commons had declared themselves contented with the forfeiture of a year's value of his
Aug. 28. estate; yet upon information from that renegado Brown, of some private discourse between them, in which the colonel, as he said, had justified the part he had in doing justice upon the late King; they condemn'd him without a hearing, and added him to the exception both in respect to life and estate: an action of such a nature, that I shall forbear to give it the name it deserves. But the King not satisfied with these sacrifices, greedy of revenge, and forgetting his message from Breda, encouraged his creatures in the House of Lords to insist upon their exceptions; but the Commons being averse to break the publick faith in every particular, a conference of both Houses was appointed in which some of the lower House pressing the promise of
Aug. 22. the proclamation, the Chancellor presumed to affirm, that the proclamation was only in the nature of a subpoena: but the Commons were not satisfied with this definition.

Having received advice from divers persons of honour, that the court was enraged that I had not been excepted, and that Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, had declared his resolution to move the House that their prisoners in the Serjeant's custody might be committed to the Tower, my servants having also acquainted me that the Serjeant had endeavoured to inform himself if I continued still at my

[1] On Carew's case see Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 455 and C. J. viii. 50, 52.

house, I resolved not to appear any more in publick; and having the offer of a house near Richmond for my retirement I went down thither, where I passed some days very quietly, and had the advantage of walking in the park. Having one day made an excursion as far as Major-General Lambert's house at Wimbleton, I perceived words to this effect written on the out-side of a banqueting-house, 'The way to ruin enemies, is to divide their councils'; which lesson had he practised, the confusions brought upon the nation had possibly been avoided. 1660

During these contests between the two Houses, touching the exceptions to be made, Sir John Bourchier, who had been one of the King's judges, and had rendred himself within the time limited by the proclamation, being of a great age and very infirm, was permitted to lodge at a private house belonging to one of his daughters. In this place he was seiz'd with so dangerous a fit of illness, that those about him who were his nearest relations, despairing of his recovery, and presuming that an acknowledgment from him of his sorrow, for the part he had in the condemnation of the King, might tend to procure some favour to them from those in power, they earnestly pressed him to give them that satisfaction. But he being highly displeased with their request, rose suddenly from his chair, which for some days he had not been able to do without assistance; and receiving fresh vigour from the memory of that action, said, 'I tell you, it was a just act; God and all good men will own it.' And having thus expressed himself, he sate down again, and soon after quietly ended his life. Aug.

The court party among the Commons, tho' they could not bring the House to an intire violation of the publick faith; yet so far prevailed that they consented to sacrifice the estate and liberty of Sir Arthur Haslerig; and that Sir Henry Vane, with Major-General Lambert should be excepted both for life and estate, with this reserve, that if upon tryal they shall be found guilty, the two Houses then to join in a petition to the King for the pardon of their lives. But the Lords finding they could not bring the Aug. 24.

1660 Commons to a full compliance in the matter of exceptions, desired another conference; which being agreed, the
Aug. 25. Chancellor, after he had endeavoured to persuade them that the difference between the two Houses was rather in form than substance, offer'd for an expedient, that no sentence to be pronounced against any of those that had been added by the Lords, should be executed otherwise than by Act of Parliament; telling them he assured himself they would accept this proposition, and hoped also that none of the King's judges, who after their surrender, might withdraw themselves from their protection, should participate of this favour; which last clause I took to be particularly levell'd at me, having been informed that the Serjeant's deputy, attended with souldiers, had very lately searched my house.

At last the Commons, partly from inclination and partly
Aug. 24. for their own safety, consented to pass the alterations as they had been made by the Lords; (or rather by the King) which business being over, the House order'd the
Aug. 24. Serjeant at Arms to deliver those of the King's judges who were in his custody, into the hands of the Lieutenant of the Tower. They were Colonel Adrian Scroop, Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. George Fleetwood, Colonel James Temple, Mr. Peter Temple, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Simon Mayne, Colonel Thomas Wayte, Colonel John Downs, Colonel Vincent Potter, Mr. Henry Martin, Colonel Edmund Harvey, Alderman Isaac Pennington, Mr. Gilbert Millington, Colonel Robert Lilborn, Mr. Augustin Garland, and Colonel Owen Roe. Sir Hardress Waller, who had been in France, return'd to England upon the proclamation and rendred himself; but finding his surrender not like to answer his expectation, he had withdrawn together with Alderman Tichburn from the Serjeant at Arms; yet upon farther consideration, they both came in. So that when by order of the House, the Serjeant was called to give an account of his prisoners, and had acquainted them that I was not to be found, a motion was made to add my name to those who were excepted both for life and estate:

but one Mr. Swanton a member of this House, and my country-man [1], moving, that before they should proceed to extremities, they would examine the bond I had given for my appearance, to see if I had broken the condition; they let it drop for that time, hoping that by this seeming gentleness I might be persuaded to submit. 1660

Information of these things being sent to me by the above-mention'd Mr. Swanton and Colonel Henley, who was also a member [2], I repair'd privately to London, in order to consult with some friends touching the course I should take in this conjuncture. Upon which my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimeston, then Speaker of the House; and finding him still to persist in his advice for my surrender, she took the liberty to say, that she apprehended great danger in that counsel; because she thought those, who to gratifie the Court, had already so far receded from their own resolutions, and permitted that persons who had rendred themselves upon the faith of the late proclamation, should be excepted both as to life and estate, tho' with the limitation mentioned, might justly be suspected of being capable to be drawn yet farther; and to consent, that after they should be declared guilty, an act might pass for putting the sentence in execution. But tho' it were supposed that this House would never be induced to such an action; yet they might be dissolved, and the persons excepted kept in prison, till such should be procured to sit in that place who would not be so scrupulous; especially since it was visible that the clause of limitation was so doubtful, that it might afford a pretence for interpreting it to be intended not only of this, but of any Parliament that should think fit to use their power against the persons excepted. The Speaker seemed much offended with this discourse; and going down the stairs with her, told her he would wash his hands of my blood, by assuring her, that if I would surrender my self, my life would be as safe as his own; but if I refused to hearken to his advice, and should

[1] John Swanton, member for Wilton.

[2] Henry Henley, member for Bridport.

1660 happen to be seized, I was like to be the first man they would execute, and she to be left the poorest widow in England. But another of my friends who was well acquainted with the designs of the Court, and had all along advised me not to trust their favour; now repeated his persuasions to withdraw out of England, assuring, that if I staid I was lost; and that the same fate attended Sir Henry Vane and others, notwithstanding all engagements to the contrary. He added, that there was a design on foot to seize the estates of all those who had been out-law'd in the late King's time, of which number my father having been one, it would be difficult for me to escape ruin on that account [1]. The advice of my friend whom I had always found to be entirely sincere, and knew to be well inform'd of affairs, was of great weight to induce me to resolve upon departing from England; in which resolution I was confirmed by the friendly counsel of the Lord Ossery, eldest son to the Marquiss of Ormond, who with divers others that had observed the inconstancy and irresolution, to say no worse, of those in the House of Commons, in sacrificing Mr. Carew and Colonel Scroop to the revenge of the enemy, concurr'd in giving the same advice.

The time appointed for my departure from England being come, after I had settled my affairs in the best manner I could, and taken leave of my dearest friends and relations, I went into a coach about the close of the day, and passing through the City over London-Bridge to St. George's Church in Southwark, I found a person ready to receive me with two horses, one of which I mounted and

[1] 'The last week Ludlow went from the Serjeant at Arms, left a letter directed to the Speaker, told him that he had withdrawn himself, not out of distaste to the House of Commons upon whose words he had rendered himself, but that he saw blood was thirsted for by those, who hardly ever had attempted to draw any in either sort, and that attempted to invade the liberties of the Commons of England, of which he hoped they would be careful; that whenever the House of Commons signified their pleasure, and that they would maintain what they had promised, upon notice left at a place he named, he would readily return to the place from whence he went.' Thomas Gower to Sir Richard Leveson, Aug. 14, 1660, 5th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 194.

began my journey. My guide was so well acquainted with the country, that we avoided all the considerable towns on the road, where we suspected any souldiers might be quartered; and the next morning by break of day we arrived at Lewis without interruption. On the Tuesday following, a small vessel being prepared for my transportation, I went on board; but the wind blowing hard and the vessel having no deck, I removed into another that had been provided for me by a merchant of Lewis, and was struck upon the sands as she was falling down to receive me. This vessel had carried over Mr. Richard Cromwel some weeks before, and lay very commodiously for my safety on that occasion; for after I had enter'd into her to secure my self from the weather, till I might put to sea in the other, the searchers came on board my small vessel to see what she carried, omitting to search that in which I was, not suspecting any person or thing to be in her, because she was struck upon the sands. But the storm still continuing, and the men thinking not fit to put to sea, we continued in the harbour all that day and the night following; the master, who had used the ports of Ireland whilst I had been in that country, among other things, enquiring if Lieutenant-General Ludlow were not imprisoned with the rest of the King's judges; to which I answer'd, that I had not heard of any such thing. 1660

The next morning we set sail, and had the wind so favourable, that we arrived in the harbour of Diepe that evening before the gates were shut; where going ashore I was conducted by the master, to the house of one Madame de Caux to whom I was recommended, where I was received with all possible demonstrations of civility; the gentlewoman leaving it to my choice either to continue at her habitation in Diepe, or to go to her house in the country; which last I chose to do, as well that I might enjoy the liberty of taking the air, as to avoid the Irish who were in great numbers in the town, and who probably might have seen me in Ireland when I served the Parliament. I had not been many days in this place, when

1660 Sept. 1. I received letters from England with a printed proclamation inclosed, taking notice that I had withdrawn my self from the officer's custody, forbidding any person to receive or entertain me under pain of high displeasure; requiring all persons to seize and secure my person, and proposing the sum of three hundred pounds as a reward for those who should perform this service [1]. These letters accompanied with the earnest desires of my friends for my removal to some place more distant from England, obliged me to think of leaving that place; and accordingly having prepared my self for my journey, and taking leave of the good family where I had been so kindly received and entertain'd, I set forward for Geneva, and passing by Rouen, a place of great trade and the seat of one of the French Parliaments, I arrived in three days at Paris. In this town I viewed such things as were accounted remarkable, passing several days in this exercise. The Louvre seemed to me rather like a garrison than a court, being very full of soldiers and dirt. I saw the King's stable of horses, which tho not extraordinarily furnished, gave me more pleasure than I should have received by seeing their master, who thinks fit to treat them better than his miserable people. But I loathed to see such numbers of idle drones, who in ridiculous habits, wherein they place a great part of their religion, are to be seen in every part, eating the bread of the credulous multitude, and leaving them to be distinguished from the inhabitants of other countries by thin cheeks, canvas clothing and wooden-shoes.

Having made what stay I thought necessary in Paris, and taken bills of exchange for Geneva, I departed for Lyons in the company of a German lord, from whom

[1] The proclamation for Ludlow's arrest begins by reciting that by the king's proclamation of June 6, the Regicides were called on to surrender themselves within fourteen days. 'And whereas Edmund Ludlow, Esq., being one of the persons therein named, did thereupon render himself, nevertheless hath since escaped from out the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending on the House of Commons, and is fled, or doth obscure himself to evade the justice of a legal tryal.' Dated Whitehall, Sept. 1, 1660.

I received great civilities during the journey. Being 1660
arrived at Lyons, tho the rest of the company were examined, and obliged to give in their names; yet, by I know not what accident, none of the officers asked me any question of that nature, but permitted me to go quietly to the inn that had been taken up for us, where we were no sooner enter'd, when divers fryars of different orders crowded in to beg or rather command something; one of these behaving himself in so lewd a manner, to a youth who came in our company from Paris, as obliged me to shew my resentment of his impudence. The next day after my arrival at Lyons, I set forward for Geneva, continuing my journey without interruption, till I came to the Recluse, [l'Ecluse], about six leagues distant from that city, where the King of France maintains a garrison because it lies upon his frontier. Here I was informed they would examin us strictly, and oblige us to lodge our arms with them; but they only desired mony to drink, which I willingly gave. The same day I passed the river Rhosne, and understood that I was then within the territories of Geneva, which was no small satisfaction to me, hoping I might enjoy some measure of quiet in that free city, and perhaps the society of some of my friends and countrymen; divers of whom I knew had been necessitated to retire into foreign parts.

At Geneva I took up my lodgings in the house of one Monsieur Perrot, who having served in the army of the Parliament understood the English tongue; and having heard that Mr. William Cawley, an able and antient member of Parliament, had passed through part of France, I hoped to find him in this place; but upon inquiry, I was informed, that there were no English men in the town, except one Mr. Felton and his servant. In the house where I lodged, the mistress being an English woman, I found good beer, which was a great refreshment to me, after the fatigue of my journey, and constant use of wines, by which my body had been much distempered with rheums. The next day after my arrival, I received a bill of exchange, inclosed in

1660 a letter from Monsieur Marga, a banker of Paris, for six hundred crowns, payable by a merchant of Geneva; but having a considerable sum remaining, of the stock I brought with me from London, and received no advice of that supply, I writ to Monsieur Marga, to keep the mony in his hands till I should receive letters from my friends.

I had not been here many days, before I was informed, that various reports had been raised, in England, concerning me; some saying that I had been taken as I was endeavouring to make my escape in a disguise; others, that upon notice given that I was concealed at the house of a countryman, some persons coming to seize me, and offering mony to that purpose, the man of the house refusing the offer, had caused me to be conveyed from thence by a private way[1]. These things being believed by many, served to amuse my enemies, who suspected me to be still in England, and doubting the fidelity of the army, doubled their diligence to find me out. But my friends and relations being advised of my retirement, were not at all disturbed at their proceedings.

Sept. 13. The Convention before their adjournment, had referred to the King the things in dispute between the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties, who in prosecution of their desires, required them to consider, how far each party could condescend for mutual accommodation. The Presbyterians finding the tyde to be against them, agreed with the bishops in many particulars, desiring only to be dispensed with in wearing the surplice, reading some parts of the

[1] Ludlow's arrest was confidently reported. Mercurius Politicus for Sept. 3–10, 1660, says at the end: 'We have omitted the proclamation for £300 to any that should apprehend Col. Edmund Ludlow, in regard we hear from very good hands he is already in custody.' Cf. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1660–1, pp. 314, 412, 495. Reports of his arrest were rife also in Dec. 1660. A Letter of Dec. 4 says, 'On Saturday night at midnight was Major-Gen. Ludlow taken at one Michael Oldsworth his house, secretary to the late Earl of Pembroke; Ludlow married this Oldsworth his sister; he got out of the house, but was taken endeavouring to make his escape.' On Sept. 11 it is reported, 'Ludlow was nearly taken; they took his hat and the coats and cloaks of two or three that were with him;' 5th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm. pp. 158, 169, 201.

liturgy, and using some ceremonies ; on which conditions 1660
they promised to subject themselves to the bishops, as superintendents of the Church, if some ministers might be joyned with them in the act of ordination. These propositions and condescentions being communicated to the bishops, and those of the bishops to the Presbyterians, it was soon perceived, by discerning men, that these two competitors for ecclesiastical power and riches, would not be easily brought to agree. However, the King thinking fit to temporise, as long as the army was on foot, appointed a conference between the disagreeing parties, at which he was present in person ; where tho the bishops appeared as inflexible as before, yet the King, for the reason above-mentioned, thought convenient to publish a declaration, Oct. 25.
forbidding the liturgy, surplice and some ceremonies, to be imposed upon those who should be unwilling to use them. Which shew of moderation took so much with the Presbyterians, who were ready to stretch their consciences to the utmost, that they presented their humble thanks to him for this favour. The like method was observed to lay those asleep who had purchased the Church-lands, and who promised themselves full satisfaction, according to the message from Breda ; commissioners being appointed to that end. But after they had sate once or twice, and heard Oct. 7.
bitter invectives against the late sales, as sacrilegious, the purchasers finding them for the most part to be of the same opinion, were quite discouraged from any farther prosecution of that matter.

In the mean time the business of the country gentlemen Sept. 13–
who were members of this Convention, was, during their Nov. 6.
adjournment, to be assisting in the raising those great sums of mony they had laid upon the people ; for the payment of which, the intended disbanding of the army afforded a most plausible pretence, that the laws, as they said, might run in their proper channel, without impediment or controll : but indeed that the men in power might deliver themselves from the fear of those who had reduced the government within its proper channel, and that the word

1660 of their King, with the assistance of an inconsiderate party, might pass for a law without controll.

The first letters I received from England, after my arrival at Geneva, informed me that Major-General Harrison, Mr. John Carew, Chief Justice Coke, Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Gregory Clement, Colonel Adrian Scroop, Colonel John Jones, Colonel Francis Hacker, and Colonel Daniel Axtel being accused of having contributed in their several stations, to the death of the King, had been condemned and executed. This important business had been delayed during the time that Mr. Love was to continue Sheriff of London, he being no way to be induced, either for fear or hopes, to permit juries to be pack'd in order to second the designs of the Court [1]. But after new sheriffs had been chosen, more proper to serve the present occasion, a commission for hearing and determining this matter, was directed to thirty-four persons, of whom fifteen had actually engaged for the Parliament, against the late King; either as members of Parliament, judges or officers in their army; most, if not all of them, the Lord Mayor excepted, having been put into places of trust and profit since the late revolution.

Colonel George Monk being commissionated to be of this number, was not ashamed to sit among them, any more than Mr. Denzil Hollis and the Earl of Manchester, who having been two of the six members designed by the late King for destruction, before the beginning of the war, and therefore personally concerned in the quarrel, had contributed the utmost of their endeavours to engage divers of the gentlemen (upon whom they were now to sit as judges) on that side, were not contented to abandon them in this change, but assisted in condemning them to dye for their fidelity to that cause, which themselves had betrayed. Mr. Arthur Annesley who had been also a member of the

[1] Alderman William Love, sheriff 1656–60, was M.P. for London 1661, thought to be an Anabaptist according to Pepys, who comments on his election as a shock to the court party (Diary, March 20, 1661); see also Cal. S. P., Dom., 1660–1, pp. 535–543; Wilson, Life of Defoe, i. 58.

Parliament, whilst they made war against the King, was also one of this number. Finch who had been accused of high treason twenty years before, by a full Parliament, and who by flying from their justice had saved his life, was appointed to judge some of those who should have been his judges ; and Sir Orlando Bridgman, who upon his submission to Cromwel had been permitted to practise the law in a private manner, and under that colour had served both as spy and agent for his master, was entrusted with the principal management of this tragical scene ; and in his charge to the Grand Jury, had the assurance to tell them, ' That no authority, no single person, or community of men ; not the people collectively or representatively, had any coercive power over the King of England.' For proof of which assertion he cited Spencers case in the time of Edward the II. And after-ages may with as much reason cite the proceedings of this Court for precedents of the same kind. 1660

All things being prepared, and the Court assembled at the Session-house in the Old Bailey, Sir Hardress Waller, Major-General Harrison and Mr. Heveningham were order'd to be set to the bar, where the inditement being read, containing many strange expressions, it was contrived that Sir Hardress Waller (who was known to be a man that would say any thing to save his life, and was prepared to that purpose) should be first demanded whether he were guilty or not guilty. Which being done, he after a little shifting, according to the expectation of the Bench, pleaded guilty, taking the blood which had been shed during his employments in the army upon his own head. But when Major-General Harrison was required to answer, he not only pleaded not guilty, but justified the sentence passed upon the King, and the authority of those who had commissionated him to act as one of his judges. He plainly told them, when witnesses were produced against him, that he came not thither with an intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to light, owning his name subscribed to the warrant for executing the King, to be written by himself ; charging divers of those Oct. 9. Oct. 10. Oct. 11.

1660 who sate on the Bench, as his judges, to have been formerly as active for the cause, in which he had engaged, as himself or any other person; affirming that he had not acted by any other motive than the principles of conscience and justice; for proof of which he said it was well known, he had chosen to be separated from his family, and to suffer a long imprisonment, rather than to comply with those who had abused the power they had assumed to the oppression of the people. He insisted that having done nothing, in relation to the matter in question, otherwise than by the authority of the Parliament, he was not justly accountable, either to this or any other inferior Court; which being a point of law, he desired to have council assigned upon that head; but the Court over-ruled; and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his defence, they clearly manifested a resolution of gratifying the resentments of the Court upon any terms. So that a hasty verdict was brought in against him, and the question being asked, if he had any thing to say, why judgment should not pass, he only said, that since the Court had refused to hear what was fit for him to speak in his defence, he had no more to say; upon which Bridgman pronounced the sentence. And that the inhumanity of these men may the better appear, I must not omit, that the executioner in an ugly dress, with a halter in his hand, was placed near the Major-General, and continued there during the whole time of his tryal, which action I doubt whether it was ever equall'd by the most barbarous nations. But having learn'd to contemn such baseness, after the sentence had been pronounc'd against him, he said aloud as he was withdrawing from the Court, that he had no reason to be ashamed of the cause in which he had been engaged[1].

[1] 'As he was carried away from the Court through the crowd the people shouted, and he cryed, good is the Lord for all this; I have no cause to be ashamed of the cause that I have been engaged in;' A compleat collection of the Lives, Speeches, and Prayers, &c., of those persons lately executed. Ludlow in the following pages seems to have had before his eyes this popular tract and the printed account of the Trials of the Regicides.

This sentence was so barbarously executed, that he was cut down alive, and saw his bowels thrown into the fire. 1660 Oct. 13.

Mr. John Carew was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Cornwall, educated in one of the universities, and at the Inns of Court. He had a plentiful estate, and being chosen to serve in the Great Parliament, he was elected into the Council of State, and employ'd in many important affairs; in which he shewed great ability. He found the same usage from the Court as Major-General Harrison had done, being frequently interrupted, and council denied, tho' earnestly desired by him in that point of law touching the authority by which he had acted: when he saw that all he could say was to no purpose, he frankly acknowledged that he sate in the High Court of Justice, and had signed two warrants, one for summoning the Court in order to the King's tryal, and another for his execution. Upon this the Court, who were well acquainted with the disposition of the jury, permitting him to speak, he said that 'in the year 1640, a Parliament was called according to the laws and constitution of this nation: that some differences arising between the King and that Parliament, the King withdrew his person from them; upon which the Lords and Commons declared——' Here the Court being conscious that their cobweb-coverings were not sufficient to keep out the light of those truths he was going to produce, contrary to the liberty they had promised, interrupted him, under colour that what he was about to say, tended not only to justifie the action for which he was accused, but to cast a ball of division among those who were present. But Mr. Carew going on to say, 'The Lords and Commons by their declaration——' Judge Foster interrupted him again, and told him he endeavour'd to revive those differences which he hoped were laid asleep, and that he did so to blow the trumpet of sedition; demanding if he had ever heard, or could produce an Act of Parliament made by the Commons alone. To this he would have answered, but was not permitted to finish what he began to say, or hardly any one thing he endeavour'd to Oct. 12.

1660 speak in his defence during the whole tryal; Mr. Arthur Annesley particularly charging him with the exclusion of the members in the year 1648, of which number he had been one; to which he only replied, 'That it seemed strange to find a man who sate as a judge on the bench to give evidence as a witness in the Court.' These irregular proceedings unbecoming a court of judicature, obliged Mr. Carew to address himself to the jury, leaving them to judge of the legality of his tryal; and appealing to their consciences, whether he had been permitted to make his defence. But they who were not to be diverted from the resolutions they had taken, without any regard to the manner of his tryal, declared him guilty as he was accused.

Oct. 12. Colonel Adrian Scroop was accused for sitting as one of the judges in the High Court of Justice, when the King was brought to answer as a prisoner at the bar, for signing one warrant for summoning that Court together, and another for the execution of the King. He denied nothing of this, but pleaded the authority of the Parliament in his justification; denying that he had been acted by any motive of malice as the inditement had untruly suggested; and asserting, that in what he had done relating to the King, he had follow'd the light of his reason and the dictates of his conscience. At this tryal the principal witness was that Brown, who having been Major-General in the service of the Parliament, and mention'd already in this work to be of a mercenary spirit, was now brought to betray a private conversation; and to depose, that talking one day with Colonel Adrian Scroop in the Speaker's chamber, and telling him that the condition of the nation was sad since the murther of the King, the Colonel had answer'd, that men had different opinions touching that matter; and being desired by the said Brown to explain himself, he told him, he should not make him his confessor. Tho' this evidence be in appearance very insignificant; yet having influenced the House of Commons, as I mention'd before, 'tis not to be admir'd if it took effect with a jury in an inferiour court, who taking every thing said against the

person accused for substantial proof, made no scruple of bringing him in guilty of treason. 1660

Mr. Thomas Scot was on the same day brought to a tryal, or rather to receive the sentence of condemnation[1]. Oct. 12. He was charged with sitting in the High Court of Justice at the King's tryal, with signing the two warrants abovemention'd; and desiring that the following inscription might be engraved upon his monument, 'Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudg'd the late King to die.' Divers witnesses were produced to prove these things; and among them Mr. William Lenthal, Speaker to the Parliament, who, tho' when the King enter'd the House of Commons, and had demanded of him the Five Members, he knew how to answer, 'that he had neither ears to hear, eyes to see, or mouth to speak except what the House gave,' could now Jan. 4. 164$\frac{2}{3}$ appear as evidence against Mr. Scot for words spoken in Parliament, which he was conscious to himself was a high breach of privilege; acquainting the Court, that the person accused, had justified in the House the proceedings against the King. Mr. Scot said in his defence, that whatever had been spoken in the House ought not to be given in evidence against him, not falling under the cognizance of any inferior court, as all men knew: that for what he had done in relation to the King, he had the authority of the Parliament for his justification: that the Court had no right to declare whether that authority were a Parliament or not; and being demanded to produce one instance to shew that the House of Commons was ever possess'd of such an authority, he assured them he could produce many. But having begun with the Saxon times, he was interrupted by the Court, and told that the things of those ages were

[1] The words about the King's execution alleged against Scot were witnessed to by four witnesses, three of whom testified that the words were spoken at the close of the Long Parliament. Lenthal asserted that on the very last day of the Long Parliament (March 16) Scot justified the King's execution, but did not remember the words about having it written on his tomb. Another witness, Sir Theophilus Biddulph, said that the words were used in Richard's Parliament in Jan. or Feb. 1659, referring no doubt to the speech printed in Burton's Diary, iii. 109. See Ludlow's own version, p. 250.

1660 obscure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that way, he took the liberty to tell them, that 'he could not see for what reason it was not as lawful for that House of Commons in which he had sate as a member, to make laws, as for the present Convention which had been called by the authority of the Keepers of the Liberties of England. I had the authority of Parliament, the legislative authority to justifie me—' Here the Court interrupted him; but having no reasons to give, Finch said in a passion, 'Sir, if you speak to this purpose again, I profess for my own part I dare not hear any more: 'tis a doctrin so poisonous and blasphemous, that if you proceed upon this point, I shall (and I hope my lords will be of the same opinion) desire that the jury may be immediately directed.' Mr. Scot replied, 'My Lord, I thought you would rather have been my council, as I think 'tis the duty of your place. But in this matter I am not alone, neither is it my single opinion: even the Secluded Members owned us to be a Parliament, else why did they, supported by an armed force, intrude themselves contrary to the resolutions of the House, in order to procure the major vote for our dissolution?' To which Mr. Annesley answered, that 'if the Secluded Members had not appeared in Parliament, and by that means put an end to all pretences, the people had not so soon arrived at their happiness.' These, with many other things of equal force being said by Mr. Scot in his defence, rather to justifie himself to his country, than from any hopes of consideration from those with whom he had to do; the jury as directed, found him guilty also.

Oct. 12. Colonel John Jones and Mr. Gregory Clement finding all that had been said in vindication of the things objected against the gentlemen who had been already tried, to prove ineffectual, informed the Court that they could say no more than had been already alleged; and therefore confessed the fact, upon which they were declared guilty, as the persons before mention'd had been.

Oct. 13. On the thirteenth of November, 1660, the sentence which had been pronounced in consequence of the verdict,

was executed upon Major-General Harrison at the place where Charing Cross formerly stood, that the King might have the pleasure of the spectacle, and inure himself to blood. On the fifteenth, Mr. John Carew suffered there also, even their enemies confessing that more steddiness of mind, more contempt of death, and more magnanimity could not be expressed. To all who were present with them, either in prison or at the place where the sentence was executed, they owned that having engaged in the cause of God and their country, they were not at all ashamed to suffer in the manner their enemies thought fit, openly avowing the inward satisfaction of their minds when they reflected upon the actions for which they had been condemned, not doubting the revival of the same cause; and that a time should come when men would have better thoughts of their persons and proceedings. 1660 Oct. 15.

Mr. John Coke, late Chief Justice of Ireland, had in his younger years seen the best part of Europe; and at Rome had spoken with such liberty and ability against the corruptions of that Court and Church, that great endeavours were used there to bring him into that interest: but he being resolved not to yield to their sollicitations, thought it no longer safe to continue among them, and therefore departed to Geneva, where he resided some months in the house of signior Gio. Diodati, minister of the Italian church in that city; after which he returned to England and applied himself to the study of the laws; and in that profession became so considerable, that he was appointed by the High Court of Justice to be their sollicitor at the King's tryal. I have already said [1], that he was seized and imprisoned by Sir Charles Coote, who joining with Monk in his treachery to the Commonwealth, sent him over to England, that he might sacrifice him to his new master, in satisfaction for the blood of his party which he himself had formerly shed. Being brought to his tryal, he was accused of preferring, in the name of all the good people of England, an Impeachment of High Treason to the High Oct. 13.

[1] p. 240.

1660 Court of Justice against the late King; that he had signed the said impeachment with his own hand; that upon the King's demurrer to the jurisdiction of the Court, he had pressed that the charge might be taken for confessed; and therefore had demanded judgment from the Court against the King: but this inditement being more particularly charged upon him in the three following articles,

'First, that he, with others, had propounded, counselled, contrived, and imagin'd the death of the late King;

'Secondly, that to bring about this conspiracy, he, with others, had assumed authority and power to accuse, kill and murder the King;

'Thirdly, that a person unknown did cut off the King's head; and that the prisoner was abetting, aiding, assisting, countenancing and procuring the said person so to do;'

He answer'd, first, that he could not be justly said to have contriv'd or councelled the death of the King, because the proclamation for the King's tryal, even by the confession of his accuser, was publish'd on the ninth of January, which was the day before he was appointed sollicitor to the High Court of Justice. In the second place, tho' the Court should not admit that to be an Act of Parliament, which authorized him to do what he did; yet he assured himself they would allow it to be an order, which was enough to justifie him. Thirdly, that he, who had neither been accuser, witness, jury, judge, or executioner, could not be guilty of treason in this case. He urged, that having acted only as council, he was not answerable for the justice or injustice of the cause he had manag'd; that being placed in that station by a publick command, it could not be said he had acted maliciously or with a wicked intention, as the inditement mention'd; that words spoken do not amount to treason, much less when set down in writing by the direction of others; especially since no clear proof had been produced, that his name subscribed to the charge against the King was written by himself. He said, that to pray and demand justice, 'though injustice be done upon it, could not be treason within the statute;

that when he demanded justice, it might be meant of acquittal as well as of condemnation; and that if it should be accounted treason in a councellor to plead against the King, it must also be felony to plead against any man who may be unjustly condemned for felony; that the High Court of Justice, tho' now called tyrannical and unlawful, was yet a court, had officers attending them, and many think had authority, there being then no other in this nation than that which gave them their power; and if this will not justifie a man for acting within his own sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exercise his profession unless he may be sure of the legality of the establishment under which he acts. These and divers other things of no less weight he said in his defence; but the cabal thinking themselves concern'd to prevent the like in time to come, and to terrify those who were not only able but willing also to be employ'd in such service, procured from the jury a verdict of condemnation against him according to their desire. 1660

The charge against Mr. Hugh Peters was, for compassing and imagining the death of the King, by conspiring with Oliver Cromwel at several times and places, and procuring the souldiers to demand justice; by preaching divers sermons to persuade the souldiery to take off the King, comparing him to Barabbas, and applying part of a Psalm where 'tis said, 'They shall bind their Kings in chains,' &c. to the proceedings against him; assuring them, that if they would look into their Bibles they should find there, 'That whoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed'; and that neither the King nor any other person are excepted from this general rule. He was also accused of saying, that the Levits, Lords and Lawyers must be taken away in order to establish a Commonwealth; that the King was a tyrant, and that the office it self was chargeable, useless, and dangerous. These, with other things of like nature being sworn against him, Mr. Peters said in his defence, that the war began before he came into England; that since his arrival, he had endeavour'd to promote sound Oct. 13.

1660 religion, the reformation of learning and the law, and employment of the poor ; that for the better effecting these things he had espoused the interests of the Parliament, in which he had acted without malice, avarice or ambition ; and that whatever prejudices or passions might possess the minds of men, yet there was a God who knew these things to be true. It was not expected that any thing he could say should save him from the revenge of the Court, and therefore he was without hesitation brought in guilty. This person had been a minister in England for many years, 'till he was forc'd to leave his native country by the persecution set on foot in the time of Archbishop Laud against all those who refused to comply with the innovations and superstitions which were then introduced into the publick worship. He went first into Holland, and from thence to New England ; where after some stay, being informed that the Parliament had relieved the people in some measure from the abuses in church and state, and
1641 design'd to perfect that work, he return'd to England ; and in all places, and on all occasions encouraged the people to appear vigorously for them. Having passed some time in England, he was made chaplain to a brigade that was sent against the Irish rebels, and observing the condition of the plundered Protestants in that country to deserve compassion, he went into Holland, and improved the interest he had there with so good success, that he procured about thirty thousand pounds to be sent from thence into Ireland for their relief. He was a diligent and earnest sollicitor for the distressed Protestants of the vallies of Piedmont, who had been most inhumanly persecuted and reduced to the utmost extremities by the tyranny of the Duke of Savoy; and in gratitude to the Hollanders for the sanctuary he had found among them in the time of his distress, he was not a little serviceable to them in composing their differences with England in the time of Cromwel.

An order being made, that the Chief Justice Coke and Mr. Peters should die on the same day, they were carried on two sledds to the place appointed for the execution of

the sentence that had been pronounced against them, the head of Major-General Harrison being placed on that which carried the Chief Justice, with the face uncovered and directed towards him[1]; which was so far from producing the designed effect, that he not only seemed to be animated with courage from the reflection he might make upon that object; but the people every where expressed their detestation of such usage. At the place of execution, among other things, he declared that he had used the utmost of his endeavours that the practice of the law might be regulated, and that the publick justice might be administred with as much expedition and as little expense as possible; and that he had suffer'd a more than ordinary persecution from those of his own profession on that account. He said he understood not the meaning of the Court, when they affirmed, that if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the bar, it had been treason in them; and as to the part he had in the action with which he was charged, he was so far from repenting what he had done, that he was most ready to seal it with his blood: here the sheriff rudely interrupting him, he replied, that it had not been the custom in the most barbarous nations, much less in England, to insult over a dying man; adding, that he thought he was the first who had ever suffered death for demanding justice. 1660 Oct. 16.

When this victim was cut down and brought to be quartered[2], one Colonel Turner called to the sheriff's men

[1] 'With a chearfull countenance taking leave of his friends he went to the sledge that carried him, whereon was also carried the head of Major-General Harrison, with the face bare towards him, and notwithstanding that dismal sight he passed rejoycingly through the streets, as one borne up by that spirit which man could not cast downe.' Passages and Occasional Speeches.

[2] 'When Mr. Cooke was cut down and brought to be quartered, one they called Coll. Turner, called to the sheriff's men, to bring Mr. Peters near, that he might see it; and by and by the hangman came to him, all besmeared in blood, and rubbing his bloody hands together, he tauntingly asked, 'Come, how do you like this Mr. Peters, how do you like this work?' To whom he replyed, 'I am not, I thank God, terrified at it, you may do your worst' . . . Being upon the ladder he spake to the sheriff, saying, 'Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of God before mine

1660 to bring Mr. Peters to see what was doing; which being done, the executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody hands together, asked him how he liked that work? He told him he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worst. And when he was upon the ladder, he said to the sheriff, 'Sir, you have butcher'd one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have forc'd me to see it in order to terrifie and discourage me; but God has permitted it for my support and encouragement.'

Oct. 17. On the sixteenth of October, Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Gregory Clement were drawn in one sledd, and Colonel Adrian Scroop with Colonel John Jones in another, to Charing Cross, in order to suffer death as the rest had done. Mr. Scot was a gentleman who having been educated in the university of Cambridge, had lived privately in the country, till upon a recruit of members to serve in the Parliament, he was chosen to be of their number; and in that station carried himself with such constancy and zeal for the service of the Commonwealth, that during the interruption of the Parliament by Cromwel, the country in which he lived, as a mark of their esteem, chose him to serve them as often as there was occasion. When the Parliament was a second time interrupted by the army, he held a constant correspondence with Monk for their restitution; in which he was very instrumental, as well by causing the letters he received from Monk, declaring his resolution to live and die with the Parliament, to be printed and publish'd, as by other services. He had been several times chosen a member of the Council of State; and the Parliament being again restored, they appointed him to be secretary to that board, and deputed him for one of the two commissioners they sent to accompany Monk in his march to London. To this gentleman Monk solemnly swore at St. Albans, that he would be faithful to the Parliament; in confidence of which, when Mr. Scot had

eyes, and have made me to behold it, on purpose to terrifie and discourage me, but God hath made it an ordinance to me for my strengthening and encouragement.' Passages and Occasional Speeches.

resumed his place in the House, he undertook so largely for his integrity. But when his treachery was too manifest, he endeavour'd to pass beyond the seas, and was taken by pirates; who having plundered him, set him ashore in Hampshire; yet by the assistance of his friends, he procured another vessel to land him in Flanders, where he was no sooner arrived, but he was seized by an agent for the King[1]. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then governour of the Spanish Netherlands, who had been ambassador for the King of Spain in England, during the government of the Commonwealth, remembring the particular obligations he had to Mr. Scot, caused him to be set at liberty. Being freed from these dangers, and afterwards finding his name to be inserted among others of the King's judges who were required to render themselves if they expected any benefit by the Act of Indemnity; in confidence at least of saving his life, he surrendered himself to the English agent within the time limited by the proclamation. And tho' he was thus ensnared, yet he was not unwilling to confirm what he had done, with the testimony of his blood, which he did with the greatest demonstrations of cheerfulness and satisfaction of mind. He attempted several times to speak to the people at the place of execution, in justification of that cause for which he was to dye; but those who feared nothing so much as truth, interrupted him so often, that he found himself obliged to say, 'that surely it must be a very bad cause which cannot suffer the words of a dying man.' 1660 Oct. 17.

Mr. Gregory Clement being the next that suffer'd, was a citizen and merchant of London, who by trading to Spain, had raised a very considerable estate. He was chosen a member of the Parliament about the year 1646, and discharged that trust with great diligence, always joyning with those who were most affectionate to the Oct. 17.

[1] Thomas Scot had escaped to Flanders in April, 1660, but was arrested in Brussels and sent over to England in June. See 'A true narrative, in a letter written to Col. B[ullen] R[eymes], of the apprehension of the grand traitor Thomas Scot, 4to. 1660'; and 'Mr. Ignatius White his vindication from all imputations concerning Mr. Scot.'

1660 Common-wealth, tho' he never was possess'd of any place of profit under them[1]. Being appointed one of the Commissioners for the trial of the King, he durst not refuse his assistance in that service. He had no good elocution, but his apprehension and judgment were not to be despised. He declared before his death, that nothing troubled him so much, as his pleading guilty at the time of his trial, to satisfy the importunity of his relations, by which, he said he had rendered himself unworthy to dye in so glorious a cause.

Colonel Adrian Scroop was descended of an ancient family, and possessed of a considerable estate. His port and meen was noble, and the endowments of his mind every way answerable. He appeared early in the army of the Parliament, being present and engaged at the battle of Edge-hill, in the head of a troop of horse, which he had raised. He was first advanced to the degree of a major, and soon after appointed to be colonel of a regiment of horse. He had been, for several years, governour of the castle of Bristol, and when the Parliament thought fit to slight that garrison, they made him one of their Commissioners for the civil government of Scotland, in conjunction with the Lord Broghil, Monk and others. In all these employments he manifested such abilities and fidelity, that the Parliament appointed him to be one of the Commissioners for the trial of the late King; in which place he acted with all the impartiality that becomes a judg in whom so great a trust is reposed, and who ought to be no respecter of persons. The hard measure he received from the Convention at Westminster, I have already mentioned; it remains only to give some account of what he said at the place where he suffered death, which was to this purpose, that tho he had been accustomed to be seen in better places, and other kind of circumstances, yet it being the will of God he should be brought into this condition, he submitted cheerfully; that he never had

[1] Gregory Clement had been expelled from Parliament on May 11, 1652, for adultery.

entertained malice against any man, and that he now 1660
wished no ill either to the jury who found him guilty, or to the judges who pronounced sentence; or even to the person by whose means he was brought to that place, who, he presumed, was so well known, that it was not necessary to name him. He said he should not boast of his birth, or education, or the private conduct of his life, because he was going to appear before a tribunal where all men must come, and where the justice or injustice of every action would be manifest; desiring the people in the mean time not to think uncharitably of him, for he was firmly perswaded he suffered for the cause of God and his country[1].

Colonel John Jones who next appeared on this bloody theater, was a gentleman of a competent estate in North-Wales, and so well beloved in his country that he did considerable service to the publick cause by his interest in those parts. He reduced the Isle of Anglesey to the obedience of the Commonwealth, and was soon after chosen to serve in Parliament for that place. He had been one of the Council of State, and in the year 1650 was constituted one of the Commissioners of Parliament for managing the civil affairs of Ireland. This trust he discharged during the course of divers years, with great diligence, ability, and integrity, in providing for the happiness of that country, and bringing to justice those who had been concerned in the murders of the English protestants. When the Great Parliament was restored to the exercise of their authority, after the long interruption, they chose him to be one of those eight persons, to whom they committed the care of the publick safety, till they could establish a Council of State. Of this also he was chosen a member, and soon after sent by the Parliament to his former trust in Ireland, where he continued till the late change. Being drawn to Charing Cross on the same sledd with Colonel Scroop, the gravity and graceful meen of

[1] Scroop's speech is abridged from that given in 'Occasional Passages and Speeches.'

1660 these aged gentlemen, accompanied with visible marks of fortitude and internal satisfaction, surprised the spectators with admiration and compassion[1].

Oct. 15. Colonel Daniel Axtel was next brought to trial. The chief heads of the accusation against him were, that he commanded the guards both at the trial and execution of the King; that he ordered the souldiers, in a tumultuous manner, to demand justice and afterwards execution; that he threatned to shoot a lady, who from a gallery that was near the Court where the King was tried, had contradicted the president when he was speaking concerning the charge; that he sent for and encouraged the executioner, and that he had upbraided with cowardice one of the persons, to whom the warrant for seeing execution done upon the King was directed, for refusing to sign it. And these, with some other things of less weight, were called compassing and imagining the death of the King. Colonel Hercules Huncks, who was one of the three to whom the said warrant had been directed; one of the forty halberdiers attending the High Court of Justice, and one who had opposed with more than ordinary vehemence all those who were for the King, was the principal witness against him[2]. Colonel Axtel having first acknowledged his ignorance in matters of law, and therefore desiring that no undue advantages might be taken against him on that account, proceeded to speak to this effect; 'that the war was made by the joynt authority of the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, who claimed a right of employing the military force of the nation for the publick safety, as appears by divers acts and declarations published by their order. This authority raised an army, made the Earl of

[1] 'This aged gentleman was drawn in one sled with his aged companion Col. Scroop, whose grave and graceful countenances, accompanied with courage and cheerfulness, caused great admiration and compassion in the spectators.' Speeches and Occasional Passages.

[2] On Jan. 17, 1661, a declaration was made in favour of Col. Hercules Hunckes. Carte MSS., xli. 512. He had earned it by his services as a witness at the trial of the Regicides, and was no doubt also indebted to his relationship to Sir Fulk Hunckes, once royalist governor of Shrewsbury. Cf. Reliquiae Baxterianae, p. 46; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1654, p. 377.

Essex General, then the Earl of Manchester of the forces of the Eastern Association, and after that created and authorised Sir Thomas Fairfax to be General of all their forces. Under this authority,' said he, 'I acted, which I conceive to be legal, because this Parliament was not only called by the King's writ, and chosen by the people, but also because a bill had passed, that they should not be dissolved otherwise than by their own consent. Having this unquestionable authority for my justification, I presume my case comes not within the reach of the statute 25th Edward III. which could by no means intend such a power as was not only owned and obeyed at home, but acknowledged by princes and states abroad, to be the chief authority of the nation, by sending agents and ambassadors to them. The judges, who ought to be the eye and guide of the people, acted under them, divers of them publickly declaring that it was lawful and justifiable to obey the Parliament. But if their acts may not be accounted such, tho' they carried that title, and were obeyed by the judges, ministers, officers of state and the whole nation; yet surely they cannot be denied to be orders of Parliament; which would be sufficient to justify any man who acted by them. This Parliament so constituted, so acknowledged and so obeyed, having made choice of a person to be General of their forces, I was by that General, in vertue of the authority he had received from them, constituted an officer under him: and therefore whatever I have done as a soldier and according to the duty of my office, for if I was in Westminster-Hall at the time of the King's trial, I was there by a command of the General: and if it be so great a crime to have been an officer in that army which was raised by the Parliament, the Earls of Essex and Manchester, the Lord General Fairfax, Monk and others who have acted by the same authority, were no less criminal than my self.' He cited the declarations of the Lords and Commons, published when they engaged the people to take arms, in which they asserted, that it was repugnant to reason that the judgment 1660

1660 and actions of the Parliament might not be a rule and guide to the nation in their duty; and declared that the persons who should act under their authority ought not to be questioned for so doing: he therefore presumed that an inferior court would not expound the law contrary to the judgment of the High Court of Parliament; adding, that 'if the House of Commons who are the representatives of the whole nation, may be guilty of treason, it will follow that all the people of England, who chose them, are guilty also, and then where will a jury be found to try this cause? My commission is dated the 27th of March, 1648, ten months before the King's death. The commission by which General Fairfax was authorized to give mine to me, he received from the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. I did nothing but my duty in going to my regiment: for if the General says, go to such a place and stay there, if I refuse, by the law of arms I am to dye. But if I obey, it seems I am in danger also. The question therefore in law, I humbly conceive, will be this, and I desire it may be truly and fairly stated, Whether a man who is guided by the judgment of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, acting only according to that judgment of Parliament, and under their authority, can be questioned for treason?' To this the council answering, that he was not accused of levying war, but of assisting at the tryal and execution of the King, and encouraging the souldiers to clamour for justice and execution; the Colonel replied, that he was no more guilty than the General, that his presence in Westminster-Hall was not voluntary, and that he was there by command. This he pressed so home upon the Court, appealing to themselves for their judgment in the case, that they were necessitated to fly to their old refuge of questioning the authority by which he had acted. To the rest of the evidence he said, that if any lady had talked aloud during the time of the King's tryal, to the interruption and disturbance of the Court, he supposed it was no treason to bid her hold her tongue; that if he smiled, as Colonel Temple depos'd, it could not amount to

so great a crime; that if some souldiers did cry out justice, it was not by his instigation; yet he hoped that to desire justice, which is one of the principal attributes of God, is no treason. Having said these with many other things in his defence, he address'd himself to the jury, and acquainted them that he left his case and his life in their hands. 1660

In answer to these arguments, Bridgman, who was president of this assembly, contented himself with repeating that strange and unheard of doctrin, 'That no person whatsoever, nor community, nor the people either collectively or representatively, have any coercive power over the King.' For this he quoted some precedents as little to the purpose as the assertion it self, and then concluded the case to be so clear, that the jury needed not to stir from the bar. It soon appear'd that he knew the men, for they fully answered his expectations; and as they were directed, without any difficulty, declared Colonel Axtel to be guilty of the treason with which he had been charged.

Colonel Francis Hacker being appointed to appear also in this tragical scene, he was brought to the bar; where an inditement for compassing and imagining the death of the King was read against him, and to prove the accusation witnesses were produced, who depos'd, that he was one of the persons that were upon the guard and kept the King prisoner; that the warrant for seeing the sentence that had been pronounced by the High Court of Justice against the King put in execution, was directed to him with others; that in prosecution of that commission, he had sign'd a warrant for executing the King; and that he took the King, by vertue of the warrant he had received, out of the custody of Colonel Thomlinson, and conducted him to the scaffold on which he had been put to death. Colonel Hacker excepted not against any of the jury, finding all of them to be of the same stamp; he said little more in his defence than that he had acted by the command of his superiours, and that he had always endeavoured to serve his country in all his publick actions; so that his tryal was quickly dispatch'd, and he declared guilty of high treason. Oct. 15.

1660 He was a gentleman of a considerable estate, derived to him from his ancestors, who lived in the county of Leicester: he had passed through several degrees of command in the service of the Parliament, and particularly distinguish'd himself at the battle of Worcester, in the head of a regiment of horse which he had raised on that occasion for the defence of his country: he refused his assistance to support the usurpation of Mr. Richard Cromwell, tho' he had forced a knighthood, as 'tis called, upon him, and presented him with two swords, refusing to obey his orders, and joining with the Commonwealth-party in his deposition: he had continued in the command of his regiment till he was taken in custody, having had assurances from Monk, that he should be fully indemnified. So that when he came to London, he made a visit to Monk, and was received with all the appearances of friendship and affection. But the next day after he had been thus caressed, he was seized, examined, and sent to the Tower.

Colonel Daniel Axtel had been captain, major, and lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of foot; in the last of which employments he had assisted at the tryal and execution of the late King. When Lieutenant-General Cromwell was sent by the Parliament into Ireland with an army against the rebels, and the regiment in which Colonel Axtel served was drawn out by lot for that expedition[1], he cheerfully undertook the employment; and for his fidelity, courage and conduct, was soon preferred to the head of a regiment; and not long after was made governour of Kilkenny and the adjacent precinct, which important trust he discharged with diligence and success. In this station he shewed a more than ordinary zeal in punishing those Irish who had been guilty of murdering the Protestants[2]; and on this account, as well as for what

[1] Axtel was Lieut.-Col. of Hewson's foot regiment in Aug. 1649.

[2] 'I can say in humility,' said he whilst in prison, 'that God did use me as an instrument in my place for the suppressing of that bloody enemy; and when I considered their bloody cruelty in murthering so many thousands of Protestants and innocent souls, that word was much upon my

he had done in relation to the late King, the Court had procured him to be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. 1660

Captain William Hewlet was also accused and tried for cutting off the King's head, or at least for being one of the persons that stood mask'd upon the scaffold during his execution; and tho' divers creditable witnesses depos'd, that Gregory Brandon, who was common hangman, had confessed and owned to have executed the King; yet the jury found him guilty of the indictment. But the Court being sensible of the injury done to him, procured his reprieve. Oct. 15.

Those whom I mention'd before to have been excepted both for life and estate, with a reserve, that if upon tryal they should be found guilty, sentence of death should not be executed against any of them except by Act of Parliament, were brought to be tried before this Court; where some of them pleaded guilty simply; but others, tho' they acknowledged the guilt, denied the malice; and some confessing the fact, denied the guilt. Of this last number was Colonel Henry Martin, of whose tryal I shall only mention some few of the most remarkable passages, and so leave this melancholy subject: for if I should give an account, tho' with all possible brevity, of what passed in the Court during their session, together with what might be necessary to say concerning the persons accused, I should be carried too far from my purpose. Colonel Henry Martin was charged with signing and sealing the precept for summoning the High Court of Justice; with signing the warrant for executing the King; with sitting in Court almost every day of his tryal, and particularly that on which he received the sentence of death. To these things he answered, that he declined not to acknowledge the matter of fact that was alledged against him, the malice imputed to him by the indictment set aside. Upon which, being told by one of the council, that he seem'd to be of opinion, that a man might sit and adjudge a King to Oct. 16.

heart, "Give her blood to drink, for she is worthy"; and sometimes we neither gave nor took quarter.' Occasional Passages and Speeches.

1660 death, and sign a warrant for his execution, meekly, innocently, charitably and honestly. He answer'd, that tho' he should not compare his knowledge in the law with that of such a learned gentleman; yet according to that little understanding he had been capable of acquiring, he presumed, that no fact could be named, which in it self is a crime, but only as it is circumstantiated: and to make good that assertion gave several instances. But the council to prove that he had acted maliciously, produced a person who depos'd, that he signed the warrant merrily and in a jesting way, as he was rallying with Lieutenant-General Cromwell. To which he replied, that such a way of doing a thing does by no means imply malice. The council finding their insinuations and aggravations of the charge against him so easily blown away by these and other answers, made up with passion what they wanted in the weight of reason; the Sollicitor-General exclaiming that all good people abhorr'd the action; and that he was sorry to see so little repentance. To this the Colonel only said, he hoped that what was urged by the council, would not make that impression upon the Court and jury as seem'd to be design'd; and that if it were possible for that blood to be in the veins again, and every drop of that which was shed in the late wars, he could wish it with all his heart: but he presumed it might be lawful to say in his own defence, that what he did, he thought at that time he might do. 'There was,' said he, 'a House of Commons as I understood it to be, tho' perhaps your lordships think them not to have been a House of Commons: however, they were then the supreme authority in England, and acknowledged and reputed so to be both at home and abroad; I suppose he who gives obedience to the authority *de facto* in being, sufficiently shews himself to be of a peaceable temper, and far from a traytor: there was a statute made in the time of Henry the VII. to indemnify all those who should take arms for a King *de facto,* tho' he were not so *de jure.* And if a supreme officer *de facto* can justifie a war, I presume the supreme authority in England, tho' *de facto* only,

may justifie a court of judicature. If it should be said, 1660
that the authority by which we acted was only one estate of three, and but part of that; I answer, It was all that was then existing. And I have heard lawyers say, that if there be commons appurtenant to a tenement, and that the tenement be all burnt down except one small stick, the commons still belong to that small piece as much as when the tenement was all standing. I shall also humbly offer it to consideration, whether the late King for some time before his trial, could truly and properly be called a King, who was not in the execution of his office, but made a prisoner, and no way concern'd in the administration of publick affairs.' But notwithstanding these and divers other things which he said in his defence with as much presence of mind as solidity of argument, he was brought in guilty of the treason for which he had been accused; in pursuance of which verdict, the sentence of condemnation was passed against him, the Convention making no provision for securing the lives either of him or the rest of the gentlemen that had been decoy'd into a surrender of their persons, tho' they had implicitely promised them favour.

The army that had so long stood in the way of the Court, was now wholly disbanded, except only Monk's regiment of foot; and that was balanced by a regiment of horse raised under colour of being a guard to the King[1]. This, together with the payment of their arrears and a liberty of trading in corporations was the reward they received for their services, notwithstanding all the fair promises both of Monk and the King. And thus these men who had accumulated treachery upon treachery, were dismiss'd with infamy; for the very acknowledgment that was made by the King, that they had been the chief instruments of his return, reproach'd them with infidelity to the Parliament, and their own desires to be absolved from the guilt of their former actions, was a confession that they had been rebels

[1] Sir William Doyley reported from the committee for the disbanding of the army on Nov. 6, 1660. C. J. viii. 176. Monk's regiment became the Coldstream Guards.

1660 to the King. However, the dissipation of these men was not caused by the King's aversion to a standing army; for the whole course of his life demonstrates the contrary; but being persuaded that they who had already made so many changes in England, were able to bring about another, and to turn him out again with as little consideration as they had brought him in, he thought it most safe and necessary to free himself at once from such dangerous companions.

This work being accomplish'd, the Court began to take off the mask: for tho' the King had publish'd a declaration for accommodation in matters of publick worship and ceremonies, and tho' the episcopal party in the Convention had patiently permitted a committee to be appointed to consider of that matter; yet being delivered from the terror of the army, they opposed the report of the committee with such violence, that it was not thought fit to press it any more: by which means all the hopes of the Presbyterians vanished, and this mountain brought forth a mouse. The natural tendency of these things was so visible, that Mr. Pryn, who had manifested a more than ordinary zeal for disbanding the army, finding his expectations defeated, and the Presbyterian party so miserably deluded[1], after he had made report of the number of regiments that had been disbanded, desired the House, that they would be mindful not to do those things that might bring them together again. Upon which the adverse party fell upon him with that fury, that if the House had not risen immediately in great disorder, he had been obliged to explain himself at the bar.

But for all this, the Convention, tho' called in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, as if they had designed to put the people beyond the hopes of any remedy, made a present to the King of the customs and excise during his life, besides other great sums charged upon the

[1] A bill for making effectual the King's Declaration touching Ecclesiastical Affairs, was read a first time on Nov. 28 and thrown out on the second reading the same day by 183 to 157 votes. (Old Parliamentary History, xxiii. 27-31.) There is no mention of this speech of Prynne's in the debate given in the Parliamentary History.

nation to supply his present occasions: and tho' before the passing of the Bill of Indemnity they had seemed sensible, that they were in honour concern'd to make provision for the security of the lives of those, who having sate as judges of the late King, had rendred themselves into their hands upon the proclamation which had been publish'd by their advice; yet they not only abandon'd those poor deluded gentlemen who lay under the sentence of condemnation, and waited for the favour they had implicitly promised; but also passed a bill of attainder against those of the King's judges and other persons, who having been excepted out of the Act, had escaped their hands, adding to other unusual clauses, that all trusts for their use should be forfeited. But the Duke of York, upon whom these confiscated estates were bestowed, must be supplied by any means [1]. 1660

Henrietta Maria of France, widow to the late King Charles, who had been a principal instrument to advise and encourage him in his illegal actions, passed over into England about this time; and being arrived at London, the House of Commons, in which were many persons, who had been members of that Parliament which had threatned to accuse her of high treason, not only congratulated her return, but presented her daughter that had accompanied her in her journey, with the sum of ten thousand pounds. But notwithstanding all the flattering subserviency they could shew, and all that they could do to procure themselves to be thought fit for the service of the Court; yet being not thoroughly principled to do the work of the Church, they were acquainted that they should be dissolved on the 24th of December next ensuing; against which time it was Nov. 6.

[1] The State Papers show the disposition of parts of Ludlow's property. The Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, petitioned 'for a grant of the remaining term of a lease, which Edmund Ludlow obtained of them by menaces, of Maiden Bradley Parsonage, Wilts, worth £100.' The King granted their request on Nov. 10, 1660. (Cal. S. P., Dom., 1660–1, pp. 343, 361.) In 1667, the manor of Doles, Hampshire, part of Chute forest, which had come into the possession of Ludlow's father, as a lapsed mortgage, from Charles Pawlett of Woodhouse, was granted by the King to Mary, Countess of Falmouth (ib. 1666–7, pp. 444, 517).

1660 desired, that all bills under consideration might be made ready. And least the people should, upon the dissolution of this assembly, form a body of men, and assert their liberties, it was pretended that a great plot to seize the King and the Tower, to kill the Queen with all those that should be found of the French nation, and to restore the Parliament, was carrying on throughout England. Under this colour Major-General Overton, Colonel Desborough, Colonel Salmon, Lieutenant-Colonel Farley, Major Whitby, and divers other persons were seized in London; and Colonel Duckenfield, Major Anthony Morgan, and several others were imprisoned in the country.

During the noise of this conspiracy, the Queen accompanied by her daughter and Jermyn return'd to France, which induced many to believe that she was terrified by the designs against her person. But she, who knew the plot to be no more than a fiction, had other real grounds for her departure. For having endeavoured to persuade her son to remove the Chancellor Hyde from his councils, and finding she effected nothing by her continual sollicitations, she soon grew weary of England; where, tho' by the importunity of the King, she had at last admitted the new Dutchess of York to come into her presence; yet by applying her self to other company, not desiring her to sit, and taking the first opportunity to withdraw from the room, she abundantly shew'd that she thought her not worthy to be treated as a daughter[1]. These were the principal, if not the only reasons that moved the Queen to quit the Court of her son, and to retire into her own country, tho' to give a better colour to her departure, and to conceal these domestick divisions, they made use of the pretences before mentioned.

Dec. 29. On the day of the dissolution of the Convention, Sir Harbottle Grimeston who was their Speaker, made a speech to the King filled with the greatest flattery: in answer to which, the Chancellor was no way sparing of complements, applauding the wisdom of the House in the King's resti-

[1] See the Continuation of Clarendon's Life, §§ 59-75.

tution, and their diligent endeavours to give his majesty satisfaction, by settling things in such a manner as might prevent new disturbances and troubles. Yet he could not forbear to reflect upon them for not investing the King with the militia, (which he said had been the great bone of contention during the late war) nor declaring any thing concerning that matter, but leaving it uncertain as they found it, and consequently a foundation of new differences. To prevent which, and to secure the peace of the nation, he acquainted them that the King would be constrained to establish it for the present as formerly his predecessors had done. And to convince them of the necessity of this arbitrary proceeding, he took occasion to put them in mind of the late plot (an admirable state-engine fitted for all times) telling them, that tho' the persons engaged in this conspiracy were only the lees of the people, yet small beginnings ought not to be neglected, especially considering that all things in this design had been brought to a head; that I had been nominated to command two thousand five hundred men in London, who were ready to seize the Tower; that the like number was enlisted under my command in the western parts of England; and that another person, whom he named not, had as many in the north ready to prosecute the same design [1]. To give the best colour they could to 1660

[1] In all the plots of 1661–2, Ludlow's name was the rallying cry of the disaffected. In August, 1661, there was a report he had landed in Essex with Whalley. In October he was said to be lurking in Cripplegate. Forty thousand old soldiers, said one story, were pledged to rise in arms. One fanatic told another that in a few days he would see Ludlow the greatest man in England; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1661–2, pp. 71, 119, 128, 396. Warrants to search for and apprehend Ludlow were repeatedly granted; ib. 404, 470, 546. In July, 1662, information was given of an intended rising in the west. Ludlow was to be General and Desborough Lieutenant-General; ib. 434, 444, 465, 526, 540, 541. In November, Ludlow had been seen at Canterbury, dressed as a sailor and with a false pass. Sir Thomas Culpeper wrote, that he had tracked him several days and sent parties of horse and foot after him. About the same time he was reported to be hidden near Plymouth; ib. 561, 568, 596. His name was used to decoy men into plots, and freely employed by informers to give colour to their lies; Cal. S. P., Dom. 1663–4, pp. 44, 72. In October, 1663, the Farnley Wood plotters were said to have expected him to head them; ib. 299. One information asserted

1660 these falshoods, all places where it could be suspected I might lie concealed, were diligently searched; my wife [1] was several times plundered of her wearing clothes; the lodgings of Colonel Kempson my brother-in-law were ransack'd, and many of his goods taken away; all my writings, which I had recommended to the care of a friend, were betray'd by a servant in hopes of reward, and seized; and one who had waited on me in my chamber was imprisoned in the Gate-house, where he lay ten weeks, because he could not discover where I was.

Colonel John Barkstead and Colonel Okey, with Colonel Walton and Colonel Dixwel, who had been commissioners in the High Court of Justice at the trial of the late King, having made their escape from England into Germany, were received into protection at Hanaw, and made burgesses of the town. Of these Colonel Barkstead and Colonel Okey took a journey to Holland, to meet some relations who were contented to banish themselves with them, and to conduct them to the place which they had chosen for their residence. But one Mr. George Downing, who was agent for the King in Holland, and had formerly been a preacher and chaplin to Colonel Okey's regiment, having received information that such persons were in that country, obtained an order from the States General for their seizure; by
1662 virtue of which they were taken, together with Mr. Miles
March 11. Corbet, one of the King's judges also, sent into England in
March 16. a ship of war, and committed prisoners to the Tower [2]. Two

that Ludlow and Goffe were to have headed a rising in London on Oct. 12, 1663, and to attack Whitehall; ib. 352. A Committee of the Rump Parliament which met privately about London had appointed Ludlow General; ib. 382.

[1] Mrs. Ludlow seems to have joined her husband in 1663; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1663–4, p. 291. Mrs. Cawley stayed in England; ib. p. 13.

[2] Downing had obtained from the States General in August, 1661, a blank warrant, or as he terms it 'a dormant order,' for the apprehension of persons excepted from the Act of Indemnity who should be in Holland. When he obtained that order the three Regicides he subsequently seized were not in the country. 'Dendy,' writes Downing, July 15, 1661, 'is yet at Rotterdam and I am put in hopes of finding Corbet. I hear that Okey and some others of them are at Strasbourg, and have purchased their freedom there publicly; and that Hewson is sick, but intends thither also with one or

things seemed especially remarkable in this action, the treachery of Downing, after he had given assurance to a person sent to him by Colonel Okey to that end, that he had no orders to look after him [1], but chiefly the barbarous part acted by the States in this conjuncture, who, tho' they had themselves shaken off the yoak of tyranny, and to that time had made it a fundamental maxim to receive and protect all those who should come among them; yet contrary to the principles of their government, and the interest of their Commonwealth, to say nothing of the laws of God, nature and nations, without any previous engagement to the Court of England, contributed as much as in them lay to the destruction of these gentlemen. But a treaty was to be made with England, and their trade secured at any rate, tho' the foundations should be laid in blood. 1662

Mr. Miles Corbet was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Norfolk. He had applied himself with diligence to the study of the laws of England in the society

two more by the first occasion.' In the spring of 1662, the three came secretly to Delft to fetch their wives, and Downing had the blank warrant filled up and insisted on their arrest. See Pontalis, Jean de Witt, i. 281–284; Lister, Life of Clarendon, iii. 151, 155. The story of their arrest is told at length in the Kingdom's Intelligencer, pp. 159, 168, 176. In case of failure to obtain a warrant, Downing was prepared to resort to kidnapping. 'I am very much afraid,' he had written to Clarendon on July 8, 1661, 'lest that if I should go to De Witt, or any other, for an order to seize them, it should somehow or other be discovered; for I know the humour of these people; and therefore if I might have my own way, I would in such a case employ three or four resolved English officers, and seize them, and then immediately give notice to the burgomasters of the place, and States General. Or, if the King would adventure, without more adoe, if possible, to get them aboard some ship. Let me know the King's pleasure herein.' Lister, iii. 151.

[1] Ludlow's account of the arrest of these three gentlemen is taken from 'The Speeches, Discourses and Prayers of Col. John Barkstead, &c. Together with an account of the manner of taking them.' This charge against Downing is made in the same pamphlet. 'Sir George,' it says, 'assured a friend of Okey's, that he had no orders from the King to apprehend or molest them, but that they might be as free and safe there as himself.' Pepys terms Downing 'a perfidious rogue; though the action is good and of service to the King, yet he cannot with any good conscience do it.' Diary, March 12.

1662 of Lincolns-Inn, and for the space of thirty seven years had been chosen to serve his country in the several Parliaments that were called. Being appointed one of the High Court of Justice for the trial of the late King, he appeared not among the judges by reason of some scruples he had entertained, till the day that sentence was pronounced. But upon more mature deliberation finding them to be of no weight, he durst no longer absent himself, coming early on that day into the Court, that he might give a publick testimony of his satisfaction and concurrence with their
1651 proceedings. He was afterwards by the Parliament made one of their Commissioners for the Civil Government of Ireland, in which employment he manifested such integrity, that tho' he was continued for many years in that station, yet he impaired his own estate for the publick service, whilst he was the greatest husband of the treasure of the Commonwealth [1]. The day before his death he assured his friends, that he was so throughly convinced of the justice and necessity of that action for which he was to die, that if the things had been yet intire, and to do, he could not refuse to act as he had done, without affronting his reason, and opposing himself to the dictates of his conscience; adding, that the immoralities, lewdness and corruptions of all sorts, which had been introduced and incouraged since the late revolution, were no inconsiderable justification of those proceedings.

Colonel John Barkstead was a citizen and goldsmith of London, who being sensible of the invasions that had been made upon the liberties of the nation, took arms among the first for their defence, in the quality of captain to a foot company in the regiment of Colonel Venn: he had not been long in this employment, before his merit advanced him to the degree of a major, in which station he was made
1645 governor of Redding: and afterwards being preferr'd to the command of a regiment, he was constituted by the

[1] On Feb. 15, 1661, the personal estate of Miles Corbet in Ireland was ordered to be delivered to his wife Mary Corbet; Carte MSS. xli. 636.

Parliament in consideration of his services, Lieutenant of the Tower of London. When he was brought to confirm with the testimony of his blood that cause for which he had fought, he performed that part with chearfulness and courage, no way derogating from the character of a soldier and a true Englishman [1]. 1662 Aug. 12. 1652

Colonel [John] Okey was also a citizen of London, and one of those who appeared early in the service of the Parliament. He had been first a captain of foot, then a captain of horse, and afterwards major in the regiment of Sir Arthur Haslerig. In the year 1645, at the time when the army was new modell'd, he was made colonel of a regiment of dragoons, which was afterwards converted into a regiment of horse. In these employments he distinguished himself by his courage, conduct and fidelity; and during the usurpation of Oliver Cromwel was dismiss'd from his command in the army, on account of his affection to the Commonwealth. He was chosen by the county of Bedford to represent and serve them in the Convention that was called by Richard; and after the restitution of the Great Parliament, they restored him to his command in the army. Being ready to suffer for that cause which he had strenuously defended, he said in the presence of many witnesses, that if he had as many lives as he had hairs on his head, he would willingly hazard them all on the same account. The sentence against these three gentlemen having been executed on the 19th of April 1662, the King bestowed the body of Colonel Okey upon his wife to dispose as she thought fit; upon which she ordered him to be interr'd at Stepney where his first wife lay in a vault that he had purchased for himself and family. But the report of this funeral being spread among the people, several thousands of them assembled themselves in and about Newgate market where the body lay, resolving to attend it to the grave. And tho' they behaved themselves with decency and modesty, yet the King upon notice of Nov. 1654

[1] Lives of Barkstead and Corbet are contained in D. N. B. vols. viii, xiii. On Okey, see Noble's 'Lives of the Regicides.'

1662 this appearance, was so alarum'd, that he revoked his grant to the colonel's wife, dispatch'd orders to the sheriff to disperse the company, and commanded the body to be interred in the Tower[1].

The report of the inhumanity of the States towards our friends being brought to Geneva, we began to doubt whether that little Commonwealth, who were under great apprehensions of the King of France, might not, if our enemies could engage him to press them, follow the

[1] On April 21, Nicholas informed the Sheriffs of London that as Okey 'died with a sense of his horrid crime, and exhorted others to submit quietly to government,' the King was pleased to permit his head and quarters to have Christian burial; whereas Barkstead's head was to be put over the Traitor's gate in the Tower, and Corbet's on the bridge, and their quarters on the City gates. On April 23 he wrote again, 'The King having observed that the relations of Col. Okey, abusing his clemency, are making preparations for a solemn funeral, and intend a great concourse of people to attend it, desires that his head and quarters when given to his relations, be privately interred in the Tower, and that the names of those who have designed the said solemnity and tumultuous concourse be inquired into.' Cal. S. P., Dom., 1661–2, pp. 344, 346. Ludlow in his account of this incident closely follows the pamphlet mentioned on p. 331, note. 'When Col. Okey's body was quartered, it pleased the King to send a warrant to the sheriff of London, to deliver the macerated body to be buried where his wife should think meet. Which thing being granted, without petition or application from her or his relations; and the rumour of his funeral suddenly flying about the City, and the place appointed at Stepney (where his first wife lieth in a fair vault, which he purchased formerly for a burying-place for him and his family), there was a numerous concourse of sober, substantial people assembled to Christ Church, to attend the corpse, and some thousands more were coming thither to that purpose; so that there were in view about 20000 people attending that solemnity, at, and coming to the place aforesaid, who in a solemn and peaceable manner behaved themselves, as that affair required: yet it so pleased the King to revoke his first grant to Mris. Okey, and by the Sheriff of London to disappoint and send home again the company attending the funeral; which Sheriff, with much harshness and many bitter words, did his work. The people though much troubled at the disappointment; yet, so soon as they understood the King's pleasure, departed, and left the mangled limbs to the dispose of them that had devoted them to the gibbet and ax; the company left many a thousand sighs to attend him to his unknown grave. That night the body was carried to the Tower of London, and there by Mr. Glendon, parson of Barkin, was buried . . . And now there he lies, and the Tower of London is his tomb. His epitaph he partly writ in the hearts of thousands at the place of execution.'

example of the Dutch, and deliver us up also. We resolved 1662
therefore either to procure forthwith an assurance of safety for our persons, or to make the best provision we could for our selves in some other place. To this end we employ'd Mr. Perrot our landlord to discourse with Monsieur Voisin the principal Syndic, and to desire him to inform us what usage we might expect, in case we should be demanded of that state. The Syndic upon this application promised to serve us to the utmost of his power, assuring us that if any letters should come to his hands concerning us, he would not only give us timely notice, but if such a thing should fall out in the night, he would cause the water-gate, of which he always kept the key, to be opened for our escape; and if we should be obliged to depart by day, we should have a free passage through any of the city-gates that we should chuse: to all which he added this farther promise, that when his brother Syndic Monsieur Dupain should return from Bern where he then was, they would consult together how to make our residence more safe to us either by a publick act or otherwise, as should be found most convenient. With these assurances I was fully satisfied, being as I thought as much as could be expected. But Mr. Lisle and Mr. Cawley who were likewise in the same place, made many objections against our stay, and pressed Mr. Perrot upon the return of Mr. Dupain, to put him upon conferring with Monsieur Voisin touching our affair. Mr. Perrot upon this went to the nephew of the said Monsieur Dupain, who was Procurator-General of Geneva, and by him was advised that we should address our selves in a publick manner to the Council for their protection. This way I opposed as a thing not fit for us to ask or the city to grant, least they should be brought into difficulties, and perhaps danger upon our account. But Mr. Perrot affirming, that the Procurator was of opinion, that it was both easy and fit to be done, and that his brother who was a leading man in the Council was of the same judgment, I thought they were best acquainted with their own affairs, and therefore resolved to let them proceed as they pleased. Having

1662 made their attempt, they found the success I expected. For the business being brought before the Council, Monsieur Let one of the Syndics, from whom the first Syndic had endeavoured to conceal his correspondence with us, expecting the payment of a great debt due to him from the King of England, or possibly inclining in his affections to that interest, not only obstructed the address, but charged those who had promoted it with a design of surprising the Council. However the Council was so favourable, that tho' they thought not convenient to grant the request, yet being unwilling to deny us their protection, they put off the farther consideration of that affair to another day, some of their members in friendship to us advising privately that it should be withdrawn, which was done accordingly. In the mean time that we might not be wanting to our selves in this conjuncture, we made application to the Lords of the Swiss Canton of Bern for their protection, in which we were most friendly assisted by Monsieur Bailival Lieutenant-Governor of Lausanna, who had been lately put into that place upon the death of one Godward, the only friend to monarchy and enemy to our cause that lived in that town.

Mr. Lisle and Mr. Cawley meeting with this disappointment at Geneva resolved to remove, and to that end hired a boat to carry them to Lausanna. I accompanied them to the water-side, and whilst I was taking leave, a letter was brought to me from the person we had employ'd to their Excellencies of Bern; in which I was assured, they had readily condescended to our desires[1]. This was an in-

[1] The Act of Protection.

'Mittwochens den 16 Aprilis, 1662.—Uff etlicher von des Glaubens wegen uss ihrem Land vertriebener Engelländeren gebürendes Nachwerben, dass sy sich, so lang es ir G. H. Gefallen, und sich wol verhalten werdend, alhier in ihr G. H. Land uffhalten und ihre Sicherheit haben mögind;—Ihnen deswegen ein Attestation als im W. Sp. B.—(Raths-Manual, Nro. 143, p. 317, Bern, Archives.)

'Dreyer Englischen Herrn Retraicte. Nous l'advoyer et conseil de la ville de Berne sçavoir faisons par ces présentes: Que à la requeste et recherche deument à nous faicte par le sieur John Lisle, gentilhomme Anglais, nous, veu le témoignage de sa bonne vie et conversation, dont il est accompagnié et recom-

couragement to me to continue some time longer at Geneva, 1662
not doubting their protection when they should find us to be favoured and countenanced by their best friends and allies. Therefore a day or two after the departure of my two friends, I went to the principal Syndic, and having excused them as well as I could for leaving the town without waiting on him, I acquainted him that the application to the Council was made without my advice, and that I was before, as well as now, fully satisfied with the verbal engagement he had given for our security; which I had no sooner said, when he, nor without discomposure, and as I conjectured, fear, made answer, that he could no longer think himself obliged by his promises, having gone so far, in expectation that what had passed between us should be kept secret; whereas now he thought the King of England might have notice of it. Upon this retractation, thinking it too hazardous to remain any longer at Geneva, I departed the next day, accompanied by a particular friend, for Lausanna, where we found Mr. Lisle and Mr. Cawley, who had received the Act of Protection from the Lords of Bern April 16.
granted under our own proper names, which I mention for their honour, who shewed their courage and generosity in owning us and our cause, when we had been abandoned by those, whose true interest was the same with our own.

In the month of July 1662, I received letters from England with an account of the trial, sentence and death of Sir Henry Vane; of which I shall only say, that he

mandé de bonne part, où il a séjourné par cydevant, comme membre de l'église reformée, faisant profession de la religion évangélique, luy avons permis et concédé sa retraite rière nos terres et pays, pour y vivre en gentilhomme d'honneur et de bonne et singulière réputation soubs notre protection, tandis qu'il nous plaira. Mandants sur ce et commandants à nos baillifs et subjects de nostre pays de Vauld és lieux, que le dit sieur l'Isle se vouldra habituer, de le rendre jouissant de notre présente concession pour y pouvoir avoir libre demeure en seurté, en se comportant comme dessus. En foy des présentes munies de nostre sceau accoustumé et données le 16 d'Apvril, 1662.

'Ein gleiche Patent pour le sieur Edmond Ludlone, und ein gleiche für Vulliam Cambey gentilhomme Anglais.

'Weltsch Spruch-Buch der Statt Bern. Décrets-Romands, nr. 4, p. 66. Lausanne Archives.'

Stern, Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge, p. 23.

1662 behaved himself on all those occasions in such a manner that he left it doubtful, whether his eloquence, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind, his gravity and magnanimity, his constant adherence to the cause of his country, and heroick carriage during the time of his confinement and at the hour of death; or the malice of his enemies and their frivolous suggestions at his trial, the breach of the publick faith in the usage he found, the incivility of the bench, and the savage rudeness of the sheriff, who commanded the trumpets several times to sound that he might not be heard by the people, were more remarkable [1].

The following account of this (and another transaction which I care not to insist upon) being sent to me at Geneva, I may not omit to insert in this place, because it seems to give the true reasons of the Court of England for hurrying Sir Henry Vane out of the world.

June $\frac{6}{16}$. 'On Friday last being the sixteenth of this instant June 1662, Sir Henry Vane pleaded for his life, and Major-General Lambert for his; or rather, the first pleaded for the life and liberties of his country, and the other for his own. The issue in all appearance will be, that Sir Henry will be put to death and Lambert pardoned, tho' both are under sentence of condemnation. The reason of this distinction is no other, than the manner of their defence, the one alledging the authority of the Great Parliament for his justification, and that he was indemnified by the Act of Amnesty; the other meanly extenuating and excusing what he did against Sir George Boothe and Monk (which was the principal part of the accusation against him) by pleading ignorance of their intentions, neither of them having declared that they designed to restore the King, and Monk to the contrary having openly declared for the restitution of the Parliament. Sir Henry Vane was long in his

[1] 'This day I saw Sir Harry Vane die, who shewed very great boldness and indeed seditious impudence on the scaffold, insomuch that to silence him the noise of drums and trumpets was five or six times used by the command of the captain of the guard at his execution, as he was making his harangue.' Peter Pett to Bishop Bramhall, Rawdon Papers, p. 166.

defence, but not tedious: he much perplexed both court and council, and has acquired eternal reputation by nobly pleading for the dying liberties of his country; it being clear that all the party which seemed to be indemnified by the Act of Amnesty, shall be punished in his person; and that for this cause only, that in his pleading he undertook by the authority of the said Parliament to justify what he had done; maintaining, that the House of Commons representing the whole body of the people, in case of difference between the authority royal and politick, possesses a just power to defend the rights of the people, and to authorize the people of England, and every one of them, to defend them.' 1662

Sir Henry Vane was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Durham, eldest son to Sir Henry Vane, who had been Secretary of State and Comptroller of the Household to the late King. Being scandalized with the innovations brought into the publick worship, he went to New England, and remained there for the space of five or six years; the two last of which he was consecutively chosen governor of that country, tho' not exceeding the age of twenty four years. In the beginning of the Great Parliament, he was elected to serve his country among them, without the least application made on his part to that end: and in this station he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing in the highest perfection, a quick and ready apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added, a singular zeal and affection for the good of the Commonwealth, and a resolution and courage not to be shaken or diverted from the publick service. He had been removed by the late King from being Treasurer of the Navy, for performing his duty in the House of Commons, and being restored to that employment by the Parliament, he freely contributed one half of the profits, amounting to the sum of two thousand pounds yearly, towards carrying on the war for the liberties

1662 of England. When that war was ended, he put the receipt for the navy in such a way, that by order of the Parliament, the whole expence of that office exceeded not one thousand pounds by year; men being brought by this means to understand, that they were not placed in employments to serve themselves, but to serve the publick. And that this conduct was not mistaken, the successes of our arms by sea against Portugal, France, Holland, and other enemies, did abundantly manifest. When Cromwel had treacherously advanced himself upon the ruins of the Commonwealth, he would not be induced by any means to favour or countenance his usurpation, chusing rather to suffer imprisonment and other hardships, than to comply with tyranny under any form. Upon the return of King Charles, being conscious to himself of having done nothing in relation to publick affairs, for which he could not willingly and chearfully suffer, he continued at his house in Hampstead near London; where under false and unworthy pretences, that he had engaged in councils with some of the army to drive him out of England again, he was seized and imprisoned in the Tower; from whence he was carried from one place to another for the space of about two years; after the expiration of which, they who feared his abilities, and knew his integrity, thought convenient to violate the publick faith, and under a form of law to put him to death.

The King of France, who had been fully informed of the importance of the town of Dunkirk, which had been acquir'd by the arms of the Commonwealth; and that his brother of England, notwithstanding the vast sums he had received from the people, still wanted more to supply the excesses of his way of living, tempted him with the offer of between three and four hundred thousand pounds for that place, which after some difficulties was accepted, the bargain struck, and the town surrendred to the French: an action so infamous that it wants a name, rendring him equally contemptible both to Protestants and Papists, and so astonishing in the eyes of all Europe, that no man on this side the sea would believe it possible, till they found it

confirm'd from all parts, that the French were actually enter'd into possession. 1662

About the same time a treaty was concluded between England and Holland, the foundation of which having been laid in the blood of our three friends before-mention'd, the superstructure was raised with the like materials; and the Dutch agreed to an article, importing, that if any, who had been the judges of the late King, or otherwise excepted from the benefit of the Act of Indemnity, should be found within their territories, they should upon demand be forthwith delivered into the hands of such as should be appointed by the King of England to receive them: and that if any other persons of the English nation should at any time be demanded by the King, the States obliged themselves to surrender them also, in case they should be found in that country fourteen days after such demand made.

In the mean time the English Court knowing themselves to be fallen under the hatred and contempt of the people for their cruelty, immorality and corruption, aggravated by the late sale of Dunkirk, resolved by the contrivance of a plot to disarm their enemies, and provide for their present safety. To this end by the means of Major-General Brown and others, mony was advanced and arms put into the hands of some persons, among whom one Bradley who had formerly belonged to Cromwel was the principal, that by giving small sums to indigent officers of the late army, and by shewing the arms they had ready, they might engage them and others in this pretended design. An account of this plot was printed and published, affirming, that divers thousands of ill-affected persons were ready, under my command, to seize the Tower and the City of London; then to march directly to Whitehall in order to kill the King and Monk, with a resolution to give no quarter to any that adhered to them, and after that to declare for a Commonwealth. By this means one Baker, who had been of the guard to Cromwel, and since the disbanding of the army had been reduced to grind knives for a poor living, having received half a crown from Bradley, and promised his

1662 assistance when there should be occasion, was executed with some others for this conspiracy[1]. However this served the Court for a pretence to seize five or six hundred persons; to disarm all those they suspected; to require those they had taken to give bonds of £200 each, not to take up arms against the King, and to increase their standing guards. They were not ashamed also to give out, that their messengers had been so near to seize my person, that they had taken my cloak and slippers, and committed two gentlemen to the Tower for accompanying me, as they said, to the sea-side in order to my escape; tho' at the same time they knew so well where I was, that they had employ'd instruments to procure me to be assassinated in Switzerland, which was discovered to a merchant of Lausanna by a person of quality living in these parts, who had refused ten thousand crowns offered to him on the part of the Dutchess of Anjou, sister to his gracious Majesty, if he would undertake that province.

The Earl of Antrim, an Irish papist, and one who had been concerned among the first in the rebellion of that country, having been seized at London, as I mentioned before, and afterwards sent prisoner to Ireland, was ordered by a letter under the King's hand and seal to be cleared and set at liberty, charging the guilt of that rebellion upon his father, and affirming in the said letter, that the Earl of Antrim had not done any thing, without warrant and authority from the King his father; tho' it was well known that he had his head and hands deeply and early engaged in that bloody work[2]. Thus the mask was openly taken off, in confidence that a people deprived of their leaders, dispirited by the late executions, and awed by the authority of a complying House of Commons, would not be able to shew their resentment.

[1] On this plot, see Kennet's Register, 839, 845; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1661–2, pp. 567, 591; and the trial of Tonge and others in the State Trials. Tonge and others were executed, Baker seems to have been let off; he was probably what was termed a 'trepanner.' Cal. 1663–4, p. 28.

[2] On the Earl of Antrim's case, see Clarendon, Continuation of Life, §§ 259–269; Carte's Ormond, vol. iv. pp. 163, 168, 174, 177, ed. 1851.

In the months of September and October 166[2], we 1662
had a considerable addition to our company by the arrival of Mr. William Say, Colonel Bisco, Mr. Serjeant Dendy, Mr. Nicholas Love, Mr. Andrew Broughton, Mr. Slingsby Bethel, and Mr. Cornelius Holland at Lausanna. The three gentlemen first named having passed by Bern in their journey to us had made a visit to Mr. Humelius, the principal minister of that place, who having a competent knowledge of the English tongue, had been highly kind and serviceable in procuring the order of the lords of Bern for our protection[1]. By him they were entertained with all manner of civilities, and informed that we were at Lausanna, which gave us an opportunity of returning our acknowledgment for his favour to our friends and countrymen, with our desires that he would be pleased to present our humble thanks to their Excellencies for their honourable protection; being obliged to use this way rather than any other, not only because of the respect he had acquired in that place by his singular merit, but because we were not sufficiently acquainted with the language of the country, to make our addresses to the government. Upon the return of his answer to our message we perceived that he had performed our desires with great affection, and that it was the opinion of our best friends there, and in particular of Mr. Treasurer Steiger, that for many reasons it would be more convenient for us to remove to Vevay, than to remain longer at Lausanna. Having received this advice, six of us[2], after we had taken leave of the magistrates,

[1] Humelius, i. e. Johann Heinrich Hummel, born at Brugg in Aargau in 1611, educated in theology at Bern, had obtained an exhibition permitting him to travel, lived some time in London, and visited Oxford and Cambridge. In England he made the acquaintance of Thomas Gataere (1574–1654) rector of Rotherhithe, an eminent puritan divine and author. In 1662, Hummel was pastor of the orphanage at Bern and Dean of the clergy. He died in 1672. In his correspondence in the Bern archives the letters of Ludlow and other regicides printed by Stern are preserved. Stern, Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge, 1874, p. xiii. These are now reprinted in the Appendix.

[2] Lisle, Cawley, Say, Love, Bethel, and Holland, six without counting Ludlow himself.

1662 who expressed their sorrow for our departure, quitted our residence and went to Vevay; but Mr. Phelps and Colonel Bisco[1] having bought goods at Geneva, and other places, resolved to try if by trading in Germany and Holland, they could improve the stock of mony they had. Mr. Serjeant Dendy and Mr. Andrew Broughton chose rather to continue at Lausanna than to remove with us, yet promising to make us frequent visits where-ever we should resolve to fix our habitation[2].

At Vevay we were received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and affection both from the magistrates and people: the publick wine was presented to us in great abundance, and the next morning the Banderet or principal magistrate, accompanied by most of the members of the Council, came to the place where we lay to give us a visit; expressing themselves ready to serve us to the utmost of their power; giving us thanks for the honour they said we did the town in coming to reside among them[3];

[1] John Biscoe was in 1645 a captain in Montagu's regiment of foot. The regiment passed successively to Lambert and Sir William Constable, Biscoe becoming Colonel himself in 1656 on Constable's death. He sided with Lambert in 1659, and on Feb. 1, 1660, Parliament gave the command of his regiment to George Fleetwood.

[2] John Phelps and Andrew Broughton were by the Commissioners for the trial of Charles I appointed Clerks of the Court, Jan. 10, 1649. Nalson, Trial of Charles I, pp. 9, 12. Broughton died in 1687 and was buried in St. Martin's Church, Vevay. For his epitaph, see Appendix.

[3] Edward Dendy, Serjeant-at-arms, was the official appointed (Jan. 8, 1649) to make proclamation touching the King's trial (Jan. 9). Nalson, Trial of Charles I, pp. 6, 8, 10, 110. He was the son of another Serjeant Edward Dendy (Cal. S. P., Dom., 1660-1, p. 21). Dendy had narrowly escaped capture when he was in Holland. Downing's correspondence with Clarendon shows how closely the exiled Regicides were watched; cf. p. 330 note. On June 6, 1661, he reported that Lieut.-Col. Joyce and Paul Hobson were at Rotterdam. On Aug. 6, he presented a memorial to the States of Holland, praying that orders might be given for the securing of the persons excluded from the Act of Indemnity, and he obtained a warrant from the States of Holland and West Friesland ordering the officers of justice to arrest Dendy. On Aug. 12, he wrote to Clarendon that he had done what he could to obtain Dendy's arrest by the States of Holland, but the order had been delayed, and private information given to Dendy, who was gone. 'I do not know,' answered Clarendon, 'that you could do more than you did in the case of Dendy; yet it is plain that upon the granting of any such warrant notice will be

and assuring us, that tho' they were sufficiently informed concerning our persons and employments both civil and military, yet the principal motive that inclined them to offer their services in so hearty a manner was, the consideration of our sufferings for the liberties of our country. We returned our thanks as well as we could; and the next day having retired to a private house belonging to one Monsieur Dubois who was one of the Council of the town[1], we were again visited by the magistrates and presented with wine, with assurances that their Excellencies of Bern had caused them to understand, that they would take the civilities they should do to us, as done to themselves. They acquainted us also, that seats were order'd for us in both their churches; that the Commander, as they name him, was directed to accompany us the first time to the one, and the Chatelain to the other. These favours so considerable, so cordial and so seasonable, I hope a man in my condition may mention, without incurring the charge of ostentation. 1662

The endless prodigality of the English Court, the persecution of the Dissenters, the sale of Dunkirk, the articles exhibited in Parliament by the Earl of Bristol against the Chancellor Hyde, and the factions ensuing on that account, together with many other causes of discontent and division, had so alienated the affections of the people from their King, that the best judges were of opinion, that if a favourable conjuncture should happen, they would be as ready to shake off the yoak, as they had been foolish and inconsiderate in putting it on: and our friends in all parts began to entertain hopes that they might be again employ'd to rescue their country from servitude. In this posture of affairs, Colonel Algernon Sidney, who, when Monk acted his treacherous part in England, was one of the three plenipotentiaries that had been sent by the Nov. 1662 – July 10. 1663

given them; but I like your designe well of causing any of them to be arrested, and afterwards they will not so easily get from you.' Clarendon MSS.; Lister, Life of Clarendon, iii. 152, 155, 169.

[1] On the precise situation of Ludlow's house at Vevay, see extracts from a letter of Sir Richard Burton's, published in the Academy, Jan. 26, 1889, and reprinted in the Appendix.

1663 Parliament to mediate a peace between the two northern crowns, which they effected in conjunction with the like number impowered by the States of Holland to that end; and since that time had resided at Rome and other parts of Italy, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that if an opportunity should offer, he might not be wanting to his duty and the publick service. In his way he was pleased to honour us with a visit in our retirement in Switzerland, assuring us of his affection and friendship, and no way declining to own us and the cause for which we suffer'd[1]. He favour'd us with his company for about three weeks, and at his departure presented me with a pair of pistols, the barrils of which were made at Brescia in Lombardy by old Lazzarino Cominazzo[2]. Designing to go for Flanders, where he resolved to pass the ensuing winter, he took his journey by the way of Bern, doing all the good offices he could for us with the Advoyer and other principal magistrates, assuring them of the great sense we had of their Excellencies favours, and of our desires to have our acknowledgment presented to them in the best manner;

[1] Sidney's visit apparently took place in the autumn of 1663. After the restoration he settled at Rome. In his Apology he says: 'That the most malicious of my enemies should not pretend that I practiced anything against the government I made Rome the place of my retreat, which was certainly an ill scene to act anything that was displeasing unto it. But I soone found, that noe inoffensivenesse of behaviour could preserve me against the malice of thoes whoe sought to destroy me; and was deffended from such as there designed to assassinate me, only by the charity of strangers. When the care of my private affaires brought me into Flanders and Holland, anno 1663, the same dangers accompanied me; and, that noe place might be safe unto me, Andrew White, with some others, were sent into the most remote parts of Germany to murther me.' In Dec. 1663, Sidney was at Brussels thinking of raising a regiment to serve the Emperor against the Turks. 'He hoped,' he told his brother, 'to get a strong body of the soldiers and officers of our old army both horse and foot.' It was after these attempts to find either employment or a quiet refuge abroad had been frustrated, that Sidney accepted the opportunity offered by the Dutch war. After the peace of 1667 he seems to have retired to Gascony.

[2] Speaking of Brescia, Evelyn says: 'Here I purchased of old Lazarino Cominazzo my fine carabine, which cost me 9 pistoles, this city being famous for their firearms, and that workman, with Jo. Bap. Franco, the best esteemed.' Diary, ed. Wheatly, i. 268.

not forgetting to let them know, that they would oblige 1663
a considerable part of the good people of England by their kindness and civilities to us. He had a long conference with the Advoyer about the affairs of England, and in a letter written to me from Bern he acquainted me, that he thought he had left him and others in a temper rather to add than diminish their favours to us. But upon the whole matter our noble friend advised that some of us, who might be best able to travel, should go to Bern, and pay our complement to the government in our own persons, intimating that so generous and publick a favour deserved a publick acknowledgment. Having imparted this advice to our friends, Mr. Nicholas Love[1], and Mr. Andrew Broughton (who tho' usually residing at Lausanna was then with us) offered their company; but Mr. Lisle made many objections against this undertaking at that time[2], so that we three were obliged to go to Bern in the name of the rest of the company. Being arrived there we went first to wait on our good friend Mr. Humelius, who received us Oct. 4.
with great affection, and expressed his joy for the resolution we had taken to present our thanks personally to their Excellencies. We desired of him that some means might be found to make our addresses with as little ceremony and noise as possible, which he approved, and promised to see Mr. Treasurer Steiger the same evening, and to consult with him, in order to serve us according to our desires, assuring us that the next morning we should hear from them. In conformity to his promise Mr. Humelius came to us in person, with assurances from the Treasurer of his affection and services; acquainting us, that we should have the liberty of making our acknowledgment to the Council

[1] Nicholas Love had fled beyond seas before the restoration. When the King by proclamation summoned the Regicides to surrender he was too far away to do so within the time fixed, and petitioned Parliament for an extension of the time. He had not signed the sentence, though present at several sittings of the Court, and pleaded that he might not be excluded from the Act of Indemnity. 7th Report, Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 119. As he was excepted and attainted he remained abroad.

[2] See Lisle's letter of apology, Oct. 1, 1663, in Appendix, addressed to Humelius.

1663 of Bern in our own manner, either by speech or writing, as should be most agreeable to us. Upon which, considering our inability to express our selves in the French or German language as was requisite on such an occasion, we resolved to do it in writing. Having agreed upon this way, we accompanied Mr. Humelius to see his children, as he called them, who were orphans of both sexes, born of poor parents, and bred up by the magistracy in a place set apart for that purpose, all manner of necessaries being provided for them, 'till they should be capable of being employ'd in such trades as were proper for persons in their condition. From thence we retired to prepare our address, which we agreed to present in the French tongue as follows.

'*Illustres, Hauts et Puissans Souverains et Trez honorez Seigneurs.*

'Ayant este contraints par l'etrange revolution des affaires d'Angleterre (le lieu de nostre naissance) pour eviter l'orage qui nous menacoit & tous les gens de bien, de quitter nostre patrie, apres que nous y avions fait nostre possible pour l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu & le bien de la Republique, nous avons trouve une assistance particuliere du Tout Puissant, en ce qu'il a disposé vos Excellences a nous secourir & proteger au temps de nostre adversité. C'est cette faveur que deux de nos compatriotes & un de nous ont deja experimenté par la protection particuliere quil a plu a vos Excellences de leur accorder, les autres se reposans sur la generale, que toutes personnes pieuses & paisibles obtiennent sous le gouvernement juste & favorable de vos Excellences.

'Comme nous sommes obligez d'addresser nos voeux au Seigneur pour le remercier d'une grace si particuliere; aussi, afin de temoigner a vos Excellences jusqu'ou va nostre ressentiment, nous avons plusieurs fois prié quelques Seigneurs de vostre illustre Senat, de vous l'assurer de nostre part. Mais ayant depuis esprouvé les effets de vostre bonté d'une maniere extraordinaire, nous avons cru estre obligé de rendre personellement ce devoir a vos Excellences. C'est ce que font a present deux d'entre nous, de nostre propre

part & de celle de ceux qui ont este conservé par vostre protection generale ; et un de nostre nombre, de sa propre part, & de celle de Monsieur Guillaume Cawley, a qui vos Excellences ont fait la grace de donner une protection particuliere ; qui est tres affligé que les infirmitez corporelles qui l'accompagnent, le privent du bien & du contentement qu'il auroit receu, s'il eust pu avoir l'avantage de vous temoigner sa reconnoissance en personne. 1663

'Comme nous avons pris cette occasion pour vous donner des assurances du ressentiment que nous avons de tant de bonté qu'il a plu a vos Excellences de nous temoigner, nous prenons aussi ce temps pour vous assurer de nostre obeissance, & de la grande passion que nous avons de vous en pouvoir donner quelques marques considerables, si Dieu nous en donne l'occasion, dont nous ne desesperons point. Cependant nous prierons l'Eternel qu'il vueille fortifier vos Excellences de plus en plus a le servir, jusques a ce qu'ayant parachevé le cours de cette vie, vous veniez a recevoir la couronne qui est preparé pour ceux qui le craignent.

'Illustres, Hauts & Puissans Soverains,
& tres honorez Seigneurs,
'Vos Serviteurs Tres humbles
& Tresobeissants,
'EDMOND LUDLOW, &c.'

The same in English.

'*To the Illustrious, High and Mighty Soverigns and most honoured Lords, their Excellencies of Bern.*

'Having been constrained by the late extraordinary revolution of affairs in England, the place of our birth, for avoiding the storm that threatned us and the good people there, to quit that land, after we had used our utmost endeavours for the advancement of God's glory and the good of our country, we find cause to admire the goodness of the Almighty, for inclining your Excellencies to succour and protect us in this time of our distress. This favour two of our country-men, and one of our number, have already received, by virtue of those particular protections which it

1663 has pleased your Excellencies to grant; the rest of our company relying on the general one, that all pious and peaceable persons enjoy under your Excellencies righteous and just government.

'As we esteem our selves obliged to bless God for this signal and especial favour; so also to testify to your Excellencies our grateful acknowledgment, we have divers times desired some of the honourable Lords of this illustrious Senat to present you with our most humble thanks. But every day more and more experiencing the effects of your goodness and favour, we have thought our selves obliged personally to pay this duty to your Excellencies. This two of us do at this time for our selves, and in the behalf of others who have been preserved by virtue of your general protection; and one of us for himself and on the part of Mr. William Cawley, one of those, to whom your Excellencies have been pleased to grant a particular protection; who finds himself sensibly afflicted, that the infirmities of his body do now deprive him of the happiness and satisfaction he should have received if he could have tender'd his duty in person [1].

'Having taken this occasion to testify the deep sense we have of your Excellencies favours, we desire leave to assure you of our obedience, and the ambition we have to give some signal testimony of our gratitude to your Excellencies, if God shall favour us with an opportunity, of which we do not despair. In the mean time, that God will fortify your Excellencies in his service, till having finished your course in this world, you shall receive the crown prepared for those that fear him, shall be the prayer of

'Illustrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns,
and most honoured Lords,

'Your most humble and most
obedient servants,

'EDMUND LUDLOW, &c.'

[1] Two letters from Cawley to Humelius, written under the name of Johnson, are printed in the Appendix. Cawley died in 1666 and was buried in St. Martin's Church, Vevay. For his epitaph, see Appendix.

We had scarce finished this paper, when Mr. Treasurer Steiger[1], accompanied by Mr. Humelius, came to our lodging; and having acquainted us that he should not have failed to be with us in the morning, if the publick affairs had not required his presence at the Council, he made us the offer of his services in a most affectionate manner, and declared his resolution to assist us to the utmost of his power; expressing his detestation of the late action of the States of Holland, in delivering up our friends into the hands of their mortal enemies, and purchasing the security of their trade with so much shame to themselves. When we had answered his civilities in the best manner we could, and given him our thanks for the offers of his favour, we shewed him the paper above-mentioned; which having perused and approved, he desired Mr. Humelius to accompany us to the Advoyer (or President of the Council, by whose hands all addresses pass to their Excellencies) and took his leave for that time. 1663

The Advoyer being informed that we were waiting to present our selves to him, gave orders for our admittance, and received us with great kindness; expressing his sense of the justice of that cause which we had defended, and for which we then suffered, together with the esteem, which he assured us their Excellencies in general, and himself in particular, had of our persons. We desired him to believe, that we had the deepest sense of his and their Excellencies favour, attributing the civilities and respect we had received as well from the magistrates as from the people in all places within the territories of their Excellencies, to the bounty and favour of the government towards us: to which he replied, that he was very glad, their officers and others of their subjects had so well performed their duty. Then proceeding to acquaint him with the occasion of our coming

[1] Emmanuel Steiger of Bern, 1615–70, was member of the Great Council in 1638, Landvogt of Lugano in 1642 and of Grandson in 1645, member of the Little Council in 1652, Landvogt at Trachselwald in 1654, again a member of the Little Council in 1660, and at the same time appointed Treasurer of the 'Weltschen-Landen,' and in 1664 also chief commander of the forces of the same districts.

1663 to Bern, I delivered the address into his hands, with our humble desires that it might be presented to their Excellencies; which when he had read and intimated that my name was not unknown to him, he assured us with much affection, that he would not fail to present it to their Excellencies, and to return a speedy answer. I would have saved him that trouble, and therefore told him that we expected no answer, and desired no more than their Excellencies acceptance of our humble acknowledgments. But he said we should have an answer; accompanying us, when we took leave, to the outward gate, not permitting us to prevail with him to the contrary.

Having dispatch'd this business, we went to take a view of the publick buildings, particularly that, where the Senate and Council of Two Hundred are used to assemble [1]. The chambers are opposite to each other, and divided by a narrow passage, on both sides of which are rooms for the reception of such as have any affairs in either of those places. From thence we were conducted to the Arsenal, where we saw a train of artillery consisting of about one hundred pieces of all kind of ordnance, with ammunition and all things necessary [2]. There were arms, as I conjectur'd, sufficient for about twenty thousand foot, and a proportionable number of horse. But I confess nothing that I saw gave me greater satisfaction, than to find a statue

[1] Burnet in his 'Travels' gives an account of the constitution of Bern which illustrates this passage. 'It has a Council of 200 that goes by that name, though it consists almost of a 300, and another of twenty-five, as Geneva. The Chief Magistrates are two Advoyers, who are not annual, as the Sindics of Geneva, but are for life; and have an authority not unlike that of the Roman Consuls: each being his year by turns the Advoyer in office. After them there are the four Bannerets, who answer to the Tribunes of the people in Rome: then come the two Bursars or Treasurers, one for the ancient German territory, the other for the French territory, or county of Vaud... There are seventy-two Bailiages into which the whole Canton of Bern is divided; and in every one of these there is a Bailif, named by the Council of 200... the Bailif is the governor and judge in that jurisdiction.' Letters containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in travelling through Switzerland, &c. in the years 1685 and 1686, ed. 1689, p. 14.

[2] Addison also describes the Arsenal of Bern and its contents. Remarks on Italy, p. 274.

erected in one of the chambers of the arsenal, to the memory of William Tel, who may in great measure be called the Founder of this Commonwealth. For when a certain knight called Grisler, who was governor of Ury and Suitz, after many repeated acts of tyranny, had wantonly caused a cap to be set on the top of a pole in the market-place of Altorf, commanding all those who should pass that way to uncover their heads, and to pay the same honours to the cap, as if he himself had been there present in person; William Tel refused to obey, and for his disobedience was sentenced by Grisler to be put to death, unless he could with one arrow hit an apple that should be placed on the head of his son. To this hard condition he was compelled to submit, and on the day appointed, in the presence of the Governor, struck the apple with his arrow from the child's head. But Grisler having observed that he had brought with him two arrows, tho' he might use no more than one; and desiring to be informed why he had so done, William Tel, upon the Governor's promise that he should not be put to death, acknowledged, that if he had killed his son with the one, he would have reveng'd his blood on the tyrant with the other. The Governor conscious of his own crimes, and therefore fearing the resolution of such a man, tho' he would not put him to death, resolved to imprison him during life; and to that end caused him to be tied and thrown into a boat, with intention to see him securely laid in the dungeon of the strong castle of Cusnach. After they had been some time upon the lake of Ury, a violent storm arising, the Governor finding his life in great danger, and knowing Tel to be an expert waterman, caused him to be unbound, that he might help to save the lives of himself and company. This he undertook to do, and steering towards Suitz brought the boat so near the shoar, that taking up his cross-bow which lay by him, he leaped out upon a rock, (called to this day 'The Stone of Tel') pushed off the boat with his foot, and made his escape into the mountains. In the mean time the Governor lay floating in his boat upon the water, and not without great danger 1663

1663 and difficulty at last arrived in the port of Brunn, from whence he continued his way to Cusnach ; of which William Tel being informed, and well acquainted with every part of the woods and hills, he posted himself in a private place by which the tyrant was to pass, and with his cross-bow shot him dead upon the spot. The success of this action so animated the rest of his associates who had formed a design to restore the liberty of their country, that on a day appointed they seized their governors, demolished the castles where they lived, banished them and their families, and bravely freed themselves from that tyranny which they could not bear. Besides the statue of William Tel taken in full proportion, standing with a cross-bow in his hand, and aiming at an apple on a child's head, there is also a statue of the first Advoyer, with two more, of persons who were principally eminent in establishing the Commonwealth, armed *de cap en pied*, and one of them on horseback, to encourage others to defend that liberty which their ancestors had purchased for them.

This night as we were at supper we received a complement from the Advoyer, accompanied with a present of wine ; and the next morning an order was brought to Mr. Humelius, who was then with us, from their Excellencies of Bern, written in the German tongue, which being translated by him into English contained as follows :

'*September the 3rd.* 1663.

'Concerning the three English gentlemen, who have for some time resided at Vevay, and have this day presented in our Assembly of Council their thanks for our protection formerly granted to them ; 'tis resolved, that they shall be saluted on our part with a present of wine, and that Mr. Treasurer Steiger, with Mr. Kilberger and you our Doyne, do acquaint them with our affection and good will to them, and assure them of the continuation of the same for the time to come[1].'

[1] The date of this order should probably be October 3, not September 3, as the letter of John Lisle shows. Appendix, p. 481.

Mr. Humelius after he had read this order, informed us 1663
that the gentlemen therein mentioned, with some other magistrates, designed to dine with us that day, and had desired him to accompany them. Accordingly between eleven and twelve Mr. Treasurer Steiger, Colonel Weiss, and one more of the 24 Senators, in the room of Mr. Kilberger, who was diverted by some publick business, attended by the Grand Sautier[1] with his mace, and three other gentlemen, came to us at our lodging; where after about an hour's discourse, Mr. Treasurer being informed that the dinner was set upon the table, invited us to go down into the hall, and with great civility placed our company, which being done he order'd the Grand Sautier to lay aside his mace. After we had sat about a quarter of an hour, two officers clothed in their Excellencies' livery brought in the present of wine that had been order'd, upon which one of the three gentlemen who came with Mr. Treasurer arising from the table, harangued us in the name of their Excellencies; concluding with an assurance of the continuation of their favour. To this we thought our selves obliged to answer, 'That as we ow'd our lives and liberties to the protection of their Excellencies, we resolved to sacrifice all in their service, when we should be so happy to find an occasion.'

Dinner being over, a question was started by Colonel Weiss, How it came to pass, that we, who for many years had the whole power of the three nations in our hands, were removed from the government without shedding one drop of blood? To which I answer'd, that for the right understanding of the affairs that had lately passed in England, it would be necessary to take up the matter from the beginning. But they pressing me to favour them with some account of those transactions, I told them with all the brevity I could, 'That most of those persons who had first engaged in the war, having made their own peace, had endeavour'd to deliver us and the cause it self into the hands of our enemies; and tho' they had many oppor-

[1] 'Sautier' is explained in Godefroy's Dictionary as 'garde forestier.'

1663 tunities to have ended the dispute by destroying the King's army, they neglected all, and only endeavoured to reduce the Crown to their own terms. This was visible in the conduct of the Earl of Essex on several occasions, and in that of the Earl of Manchester after the Battle of Newberry, who tho' he had twenty thousand men in his army, flush'd with that victory, yet suffer'd the King with seven thousand only, to carry off the cannon he had left at a place which stood near the ground where he had been routed a few weeks before, without once offering to attack him, giving this at a Council of War for the reason of his refusing to fight, "That if the King were beaten twenty times by us, he would be still King; but if he should once beat us, we should be all treated as traytors": for which being accused in the House of Commons, tho' they thought not convenient to proceed against him criminally; yet upon this and divers other considerations, they removed him, together with the Earl of Essex and the rest of the nobility from their commands in the army, making choice of commoners to fill their places, whose interest they knew it was to take away the monarchy it self. By this means they soon put an end to the war, sentenced the King to die for the blood that had been shed, establish'd a free Commonwealth, brought their enemies at home to submit to their authority, and reduced those abroad to accept such terms as they would give. In the midst of all this prosperity they were betray'd by Oliver Cromwel, whom they had entrusted with the command of their army; who, having moulded the greatest part of the officers to his purpose, by calumniating the Parliament, proposing advancement to the ambitious, and deluding the simple with a shew of religion; back'd by the assistance of the clergy and lawyers, (who had been threatned by the Parliament with a reformation of their practices) ejected his masters, and usurped their authority; endeavouring during the five years of his reign, to ruin all that had been faithful to the interest of the Commonwealth, and advancing those who would not scruple to sacrifice their consciences to his

ambition. By these ways the army became so corrupted, 1663
that tho' after the usurper's death they had been persuaded with great difficulty to depose the son, and to permit the restitution of the Parliament, yet they were soon after induced, under frivolous pretences, to offer violence to them a second time; which rendring them odious to the people, gave an opportunity to Monk, by declaring for the Parliament, to divide their councils, and to render them useless. And when the Parliament had in gratitude for their restitution conferr'd many undeserved favours upon Monk, he also, who had been a creature of Cromwel and advanced by him, betray'd his trust, and contrary to many protestations, oaths and solemn asseverations, brought a great number of persons to vote in Parliament who had formerly been ejected by the House, which turn'd the ballance from the side of the Commonwealth, and under the influence of his forces brought in the son of the late King.'

Tho' the brevity of this account would not admit of that clearness and perspicuity which I could have wish'd; yet our generous friends were not only willing to pardon the imperfections, but gave me thanks for the information they said I had given them of our affairs, expressing themselves deeply sensible of the troubles that had fallen upon us and the honest interest by so base a treachery.

After this conversation the Senators rising from their seats, we gave them thanks for the honours they had been pleased to do us, and according to our duty offered to accompany them to their respective habitations. But these truly noble persons would by no means permit us; and being desirous that their favours to us should be yet more publick, they invited us to go to the church, that all men might see they were not ashamed to own what they had done. To this end Mr. Treasurer Steiger having ordered the mace to be carried before him, constrained me to take the right hand, Monsieur Humelius and Colonel Weiss doing the like to Mr. Love and Mr. Broughton, obliging us to enter the church before them, and placing us in the most honourable seats; neither could we prevail with them to go

1663 out before us from the place of public worship, or to permit us to accompany them to their houses. The next day we went to wait on the Advoyer who was then prepairing for his embassy to France, where he and another person were appointed to represent the Canton of Bern; and having acquainted him with the deep impression their Excellencies and his favours had made upon us, he expressed himself highly sensible of our condition, and heartily desirous of our restitution, with assurances of his farther services on all occasions, and promising the like favour and protection to as many of our countrymen as should come to them. At our taking leave he accompanied us to the outward gate as in the first visit, and when we told him he had exceeded in the honours done to us, he condescended to say, that in his own account he had never received so much honour in his life. After this we paid our respects and thanks to Mr. Treasurer Steiger, to the ancient Bailif Monsieur Lentulus, to Colonel Weiss, and to our true friend Monsieur Humelius, with divers others of the Senate and Council. And being desirous to wait also on General D'Erlach [1], who, we were informed, had much favour'd us in the business of our protection, we went to his house; but he was gone out of

[1] Sigmund von Erlach (1614–1699), General of the forces of Bern in the Peasants' War of 1653, and in the war of Vilmerg in 1656. 'The chief man now in Bern, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there, is Mr. d'Erlack, nephew to that Mr. d'Erlack who was governor of Brisack, and had a brevet to be a Mareschal of France; this is one of the noblest families in Bern, that acted a great part in shaking off the Austrian tyranny, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their nobility. The present head of it is a very extraordinary man, he has great authority in his canton not only as he is Advoyer, but by the particular esteem which is payed him. For he is thought the wisest and worthiest man of the state, though it is somewhat strange how he should bear such a sway in such a government, for he neither feasts, nor drinks with the rest. He is a man of great sobriety and gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a minister of state in a monarchy than a magistrate in a popular government. For one sees in him none of those arts that seem necessary in such a government. He has a great estate and no children, so he has no projects for his family; and does what he can to correct the abuses of the state, though the disease is inveterate, and seems past cure.' Burnet, Letters, &c., p. 26.

town, and we had not the advantage to see him at that time. 1663

Having been thus successful in our affairs at Bern, we returned to our residence at Vevay, where we had not been long, before we were informed, that an Irish man going under the name of Riardo [1], and belonging, as he said, to the Dutchess of Orleans, was arrived at Turin, and had formed a design against our lives; and that Mr. Denzil Hollis, since the late revolution called Lord Hollis, and at that time ambassador in France, had been with one Monsieur Lullin, who was agent at Paris for the Republick of Geneva, to desire satisfaction for a book which he supposed to be printed in that place, in favour of those who had been condemn'd for putting the late King to death. But that which alarum'd us most, was a report, that letters had been sent from the King of England to their Excellencies of Bern, to demand our persons. Of this information having given an account to Mr. Humelius, and desired him to use his diligence in finding out the truth of these things; we soon received in answer, that he had heard nothing of the two first; and as to the last, he assured us that no letters of that sort from England were yet come to the hands of their Excellencies; but if such a thing should happen, he would not fail to give us timely notice and advice, for our government on such an occasion. By a second, which we received from him soon after, he informed us, that General D'Erlach had acquainted him with the arrival of a courier from France, who had brought letters for their ambassador, together with particular orders to inform himself, whether their Excellencies of Bern might by any means be induced to deliver us up, or at least to withdraw their protection from us. But not finding the ambassador in the country (he having taken a journy to the Court of France, to be

[1] This emissary appears to have been a Major Germaine Riordane who had served in the Duke of York's regiment abroad. See his petitions and those of his brother Denis or Derby Riordane; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1663-4, pp. 425, 6; 1664-5, p. 579. Two of his reports of his mission, dated Dec. 1663 and Aug. 1664, are printed in the Appendix, pp. 482, 485.

1663 present at the reception of the Swiss ambassadors, who had been sent thither to ratify the treaty lately concluded with that King) he was returned to Paris, and had carried his letters back with him. And I am inclined to believe that our enemies upon information of the honourable reception we had found from their Excellencies, were intirely discouraged from attempting any thing in that way, and therefore turned their malice against us into designs of violence and assassination.

Divers letters from Turin, Geneva, Lyons, and other places, which we and our friends at Vevay received, were full of advices from those parts, that so many and such desperate persons had engaged against us, that it would be next to impossible to escape their hands: and one of my best friends, who was then at Geneva, sent a messenger express to me with a letter to inform me, that he had received a billet from a person who knew our friendship, and desired not to be known, with these expressions at the end, 'If you wish the preservation of the English general at Vevay, let him know, that he must remove from thence with speed, if he have any regard to his own safety.' We also received certain information, that Riardo had been seen in the Pais de Vaux, and in several parts of Savoy. Being somewhat alarum'd with these things, our company met, in order to consult what was fit to be done on this occasion, and soon came to a resolution, that we would not remove into any country that was governed by a monarch, least we should be guilty of our own blood, by seeking protection from those who were concerned in interest to destroy us. It remained only to consider, whether we should quit the place of our present residence for any other under the same government; or whether we should remove from the territories of Bern to some other republick. The first we were unwilling to do for many respects, and particularly on account of the good will and affection that the people had expressed to us: and to the second we could by no means consent, because the protection of their Excellencies had been so frankly, publickly and generously

extended to us. So that having determined to remain at 1663
Vevay, and being informed that a fair would be kept there in a few days, we contented our selves with changing our lodging for one night, and procuring the guard of the town to be doubled during the day of the fair, least our enemies should disguise themselves, and mixing with the concourse of people pass unsuspected, till they might find an opportunity of surprising us.

According to our information, some of the villains who were employ'd to destroy us, had on the fourteenth of November 1663, passed the lake from Savoy, in order to put their bloody design in execution the next day as we should be going to the church. They arrived at Vevay about an hour after sun-set, and having divided themselves, one part took up their quarters in one inn, and the other in another. The next day being Sunday, Monsieur Dubois Nov. 15.
our landlord going early to the church, discovered a boat at the side of the lake with four watermen in her, their oars in order, and ready to put off. Not far from the boat stood two persons with cloaks thrown over their shoulders, two sitting under a tree, and two more in the same posture a little way from them. Monsieur Dubois concluding they had arms under their cloaks, and that these persons had way-laid us, with a design to murder us as we should be going to the sermon, pretending to have forgotten something, returned home and advised us of what he had observed. In his way to us he had met one Mr. Binet, who acquainted him that two men whom he suspected of some bad intention, had posted themselves near his house, and that four more had been seen in the market-place; but that finding themselves observed, they had all retired towards the lake. By this means the way leading to the church through the town being cleared, we went to the sermon without any molestation, and said nothing to any man of what we had heard, because we had not yet certainly found that they had a design against us. Returning from church I was informed, that the suspected persons were all dining at one of the inns, which excited my

1663 curiosity to take a view of the boat. Accordingly I went with a small company, and found the four watermen by the boat, the oars laid in their places, a great quantity of straw in the bottom of the boat, and all things ready to put off. About an hour after dinner I met our landlord, and having inquired of him concerning the persons before-mentioned, he assured me they could be no other than a company of rogues; that they had arms under the straw of the boat; and that they had cut the withes that held the oars of the town-boats, to prevent any pursuit if they should be forced to fly. But these ruffians who had observed the actions of Monsieur Dubois, and suspected he would cause them to be seized, came down soon after I had viewed the boat, and in great haste caused the watermen to put off, and returned to Savoy[1]. This discovery being made, the Chatelain, the Banderet, together with all the magistrates and people of the town, were much troubled that we had not given them timely notice, that so they might have been seized. We afterwards understood that one Du Pose of Lyons, Monsieur du Pre a Savoyard, (of whom I shall have occasion to speak more largely) one Cerise of Lyons, with Riardo before-mention'd, were part of this crew, and that Riardo paid the whole expence they made at Vevay.

The Bailiff, the Chatelain and the whole council, shewing themselves highly sensible of this affront offered to the government of their Excellencies, and of the injury done to us, the Banderet gave order that the boats of the town should be ready to attack them in case they should return to make any attempt against us. They not only offer'd us a guard for the safety of our house, but condescended to tell us, that they were ready to do that office themselves. The Bailiff directed the Chatelain to require all the inn-keepers every night to give an account upon oath, either to him or to Monsieur Dubois our landlord, of all persons that should come to lodge at their houses; and the council of the town order'd, that no burgess should entertain any man,

[1] See in the Appendix, p. 484, an intercepted letter from one of the exiles describing this attempt.

for whom they would not answer. Their Excellencies of Bern also being informed of this attempt, sent their orders to the Bailiffs of Lausanna, Morges and Vevay, to take especial care of our persons, and to search all boats coming from Savoy, of which they should have any suspicion[1]. 1663

Monsieur du Pre finding himself disappointed in this enterprize, and fearing that for this affront to their Excellencies of Bern, he might be deprived of the profits of some lands lying within their territories, of which he had lately taken possession after a long suit at law in the right of his wife, and which had been sequestred from him, because he had violently carried her out of their country before marriage, procured one of my good friends at Geneva to write to me on his behalf, and to inform me that he had no otherwise engaged in this affair than to do me service[2]. Our landlord also being unwilling to provoke him any farther, knowing the desperate resolution of the man, desired that if I should write to any of my friends at Bern concerning this attempt, I would only name Riardo, who was confessed to be the principal undertaker. But tho' I thought it not proper for us to be the accusers and prosecutors of those who were concerned in this design; yet being not able to see any reason to do as was desired in his behalf, I resolved to leave the whole matter to the wisdom of their Excellencies; who after they had received the report of those in our parts, to whom they had committed the examination of this affair, being assured that Monsieur du Pre was one of that number, seized again into their hands the estate he had enjoy'd in the right of his wife. March 17. 1664

Our enemies still giving out in all places where they durst, that they would not desist till they had effected their design, I received a letter from a good friend in which I found these words. 'You are hated and feared more than all the rest of your companions: your head is set at

[1] See Stern, Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge, p. 24.

[2] Louis Deprez of Thonon. Professor Stern collects in his pamphlet a number of extracts from the Swiss archives relating to the career and crimes of Deprez, which confirm the statements made by Ludlow on pp. 363, 375, 381, 384.

1664 a great price: 'tis against you they take all this pains to find assassins, and 'twas on your account they contrived the late attempt; so that upon the whole matter I cannot but advise, that you would resolve to retire to some place where you may be unknown, there being, in my opinion, no other way left to secure you from the rage of your enemies.' But having strength'ned our house, and made the best provision we could for our defence, being assured of the affections both of the magistrates and people of the town, and the government having given me power to ring the alarum-bell upon occasion, and to that end contrived it so that I could do it from my own chambers, our lodgings joining to one of the gates, I resolved not to remove; especially considering that those who had made the late attempt, being for the most part well known, had render'd themselves uncapable of returning again to Vevay: whereas if we should have removed to any other place, the same persons would have found greater facility to execute their design. As to that part of the advice, tending to persuade me to go to some place where I might not be known, I knew it was in vain to think of finding any such within the territories of their Excellencies, and out of them I resolved not to depart.

In the mean time I was informed by letters from England, that Riardo having been at that court to give account of the ill success of the late attempt against us [1], was not only well received by the King, but dispatched with new orders to carry on the same design; and that in his passage through France he had been with the Dutchess of Orleans, who was the principal instrument used by his gracious majesty for incouraging and carrying on this manly attempt. I was also assured from France that in a letter to that King, he had acquainted him, that not thinking himself safe so long as the principal traytors were alive, he desired his assistance to seize or destroy those that were on that side the sea, and particularly those in Switzerland.

[1] Riordane's first report, received Dec. 29, 1663, is given in the Appendix, p. 482.

In prosecution of the orders that had been sent from 1664
their excellencies of Bern, the Bailiff of Morges having notice that one of the watermen who had brought the assassins from Savoy to Vevay was in that town, caused him to be seized, and sent prisoner to the castle of Chillion, which is the place of residence for the Bailiff of Vevay. On the first of January we were invited by the Bailiff to a publick entertainment in the castle, and by that means were present at his examination. For some time he confessed nothing material; but being found to contradict himself in his answers, and therefore threatned with the strappada by the Bailiff and the Baron de Chatteler, he seeing the cord made ready, informed them, that one Monsieur de la Broette, and Monsieur du Fargis, both Savoyards, were among those who came in the boat with Du Pre, and that one of the four watermen was the person who cut the withes of all the town-boats to prevent them from pursuing; adding, that Du Pre told them at their return to Savoy, that if they had succeeded in their enterprize they should have had mony enough; but constantly denying, that he knew any thing of the design till it had miscarried.

Yet neither the care of the government to provide by their justice for our future safety, nor the disappointment of the assassins in their late attempt, could remove the fears our friends had entertained of new designs against our persons, or persaade them to believe that we could be safe whilst we remained in the place where we were. Among others, Mr. Treasurer Steiger wrote a letter to the Bailiff of Vevay, in which he desired him to persuade us to remove our quarters either to Yverden, Lausanna, or some other place that was near the center of their Excellencies' territories, where they might be better able to defend us, than he doubted they could at present, by reason of the advantages that the situation of the lake afforded to our enemies, who, he said, might come by water from Savoy, or Versoy a place belonging to the French, to the foot of our garden-wall without fear of surprize or discovery; assuring him, that

1664 having been the first adviser of our settlement at Vevay, if any ill should happen to us whilst we continued in that place, he should account himself the most unhappy man in the world. The Bailiff having communicated this letter to me, I answered, that our company was extreamly obliged to Mr. Treasurer Steiger for the care he expressed to be upon him for our safety; but that our disease being intirely personal and not at all local, we should, in my opinion, be so far from mending upon the change of air, that I feared we should render our condition worse, by going to a place where we were not known, and putting our selves under the necessity of making new friends, which by the favour and goodness of the magistrates and people we had already acquir'd at Vevay; that therefore we should willingly acquit Mr. Treasurer and all our friends from the blame of whatever might befal us, and take the consequences of our stay upon our selves. With these and other reasons the Bailiff, and by his means the rest of our friends were so well satisfied, that we heard no more from them on that account.

About this time I received a letter from one Monsieur de la Fleschere, a near relation of that Monsieur du Pre who was one of the twelve that came to assassinate us at Vevay, in which he declared his detestation of that villany, and promised to inform me from time to time of what he should learn of their designs; acquainting me of their intentions to attack us in our way to the church which was without the town, and therefore advising that I should go seldom thither, and never without company and well armed. He counsell'd us by all means to keep together, and not to separate as he was informed we intended to do, and that we should continue in the place where we were, because the lake was a great impediment to our enemies' designs, who, he said, assured themselves of success in their enterprize, if we should go to Yverden, Lausanna, or any other place, from whence they might make their escape on horseback.

Divers other advertisements of designs against us coming

to our hands about the same time, most of them naming me to be the person, against whom the malice was principally directed, and insinuating, that the rest of our company were brought into hazard chiefly on my account, Mr. Lisle either really was, or pretended to be so alarum'd, that he withdrew himself from us and went to Lausanna, under colour, that expecting a visit from his lady in the month of May next ensuing, he was unwilling she should come to Vevay, least it should prove prejudicial to her after her return to England. Before he left us, he made his will, and took leave of the magistrates, and of all his friends in the town in a solemn manner. At our parting, I took liberty to desire him to take the best care he could of himself, and not to be too confident of his security, upon supposition that I was the only person mark'd out for destruction; since he well knew, that at a consult held by our enemies at Chatillon, they had inquired after him as well as my self: I adjur'd him therefore to be upon his guard, lest presuming too much upon safety, he might betray himself into their hands. 1664

Soon after the departure of Mr. Lisle, I received advice by the means of Monsieur de la Fleschere, that Du Pose and Cerise of Lyons, with one St. Du, had been at Tunno, a place lying upon the lake, to confer with Du Pre, De la Broette and Du Fargis, about resuming their former design, and that they had passed most part of the night in the wood of Courent, where it had been at last resolved, that they would come no more to Vevay by the way of the lake; but that the next attempt should be made by a smaller number of persons on foot, with horses kept ready to receive them, and to carry them off either by the way of Chillion, St. Dennis, or Lausanna; of all which I gave notice to Mr. Lisle, who with others of our friends and countrymen was then at Lausanna.

About eight days after, one Monsieur du Moulin of Vevay, going towards Lausanna, discovered in a lane not far from the lake on the way of Safron, three persons well mounted and armed, with one on foot, and thinking them to have no

1664 good design, he sent a servant to observe them, who upon his return confirming him in his suspicion, Monsieur du Moulin dismounted, and taking up the foot of his horse to induce them to believe he only wanted a shoe, he returned immediately to Vevay. But they suspecting themselves to be discovered, and that he was returned to give us notice, as indeed he was, made so much haste away, that before the people of the town could reach the place where they had been seen, they were arrived at Safron ; and having a boat, which had brought them in the morning from Savoy, lying ready to receive them, they by that means made their escape. They had sent two persons on foot into the town to assassinate me by stabbing or shooting, and these horsemen were to have carried them off, as we afterwards understood : but that the town being raised by the information of Monsieur du Moulin, they also had thought convenient to shift for themselves.

On the 21st of July 1664, we were informed, that some Savoyards had landed in the harbour of Ouches belonging to Lausanna, and had let fall some words of a design against the English there. Upon which some of their friends having notice, went to the Burgomaster in order to procure his warrant to seize and bring them to be examined before him. But the Burgomaster refusing to do any thing in the matter without the advice of the Bailiff, they went to the castle ; where, finding the bridge drawn up, they thought not fit to trouble him that night. The next morning they went again to the castle, and having acquainted the Bailiff with what they had heard, he presently granted his warrant, and order'd the Fiscal to summon the Savoyards before him. But they having notice of what was doing, got into their boat and were put off, before the warrant could be served upon them. Yet it was supposed, that if the town-boats had been order'd to pursue them, they might easily have seized and brought them in ; for they were within musket-shot of the shore when the officer came to the port with the warrant, the lake very rough, and the wind directly in their teeth. However I must not omit, that these villains had

been seen to stand by the door of the church, where Mr. Lisle used to go, all the time the people were going in to the sermon; but neither he nor any of our countrymen coming to the church that morning, they departed in a rage, one of them saying, 'Le B...gre ne viendra pas'; which words tho' they were not observed at the time, yet were afterwards too well understood [1]. 1664

Mr. Lisle having received advice from the Lieutenant Balival that a certain Frenchman, who used to engrave upon seals and dishes at Vevay, Lausanna, and other places, had informed these Savoyards of the way they should take for the execution of their wicked design, procured an officer of justice to demand him at his lodging in Lausanna; where being informed that he was gone to Vevay, a message was dispatch'd to me, that I might cause him to be seized. Accordingly the Bailiff, at my request, granted a warrant for taking him in custody. But he having heard how things had pass'd at Lausanna, and supposing the alarum to be over, was returned thither. Of which the government of that town having advice, they caused him to be seized and carried before the Burgomaster, who after a slight examination, contented himself with banishing him from their jurisdiction. And now Mr. Lisle began to think that he had not much better provided for his security by abandoning Vevay.

On the Wednesday of the same week, two men in the habit of grooms mounted upon good horses came to lodge at an inn in Vevay; of which our landlord having received notice, (according to an order of the Bailiff and Chatelain formerly signified to all inn-keepers) he went to the house where they were, and upon examination was assured by them, that they belonged to a German count who was then at the baths in the Pais des Vallees; that they were by his order come to this place to wait his return, and that they had already sent a messenger to acquaint him with their arrival. Being not able to draw any more from them, he came home, and having acquainted me with what had

[1] See Riordane's letter of Aug. 8, 1664. Appendix, p. 485.

1664 pass'd, earnestly desired that I would be upon my guard. In the mean time these pretended grooms continued at Vevay till the Thursday in the following week, when one coming from the baths before-mentioned, assured, that no such person, as these fellows described, had been there; which added to a threatning message sent by our landlord to the innkeeper for entertaining such rogues, they hastned away and went to Lausanna.

On Thursday the 11th of August, 1664, one Monsieur Longeon of Lausanna, brought me the sad news, that Mr. Lisle going that morning to hear the sermon in the church that stood near the town-gate, was shot dead by a person on foot, who had a companion waiting for him on horseback with a led horse in his hand, which the murderer having mounted and cried Vive le Roy, they immediately rode away together towards Morges. Soon after this barbarous murder was committed, we understood from Lausanna by the description of the persons, their clothes and horses, that they were the same that had lodged at Vevay. They had continued for a week in Lausanna before they found an opportunity to put in execution their detestable plot, and had carried themselves with such indiscretion, that divers persons suspected them to have a design against the English; of which Mr. Lisle being informed, he sent his landlord twice to try what he could draw from them. But they had so well contrived their story, that he could find no colour to remove them. Many persons upon suspicion of these fellows had desired Mr. Lisle to be upon his guard, and to forbear going to the church he used; because it lay so near the town-gate, that if any persons should make an attempt against him, they might with little difficulty escape by that way. Our countrymen also who were with him performed the same office; but he would by no means hearken to their advice, saying he was in the hands of God, and had committed himself intirely to his protection; adding to this answer, that my life was his defence, and that 'till our enemies had dispatched me, he assured himself they would not think of him. The villain

that murdered him had waited his coming at a barber's shop, where he pretended to want something for his teeth, till seeing Mr. Lisle at distance he stept out of the shop, and as he came by, saluted him. Then following him into the church-yard, he drew a carabine from under his cloak, and shot him into the back. With the recoil of the piece the villain's hat was beaten off, and he himself falling over a piece of timber, dropp'd his gun, which he left behind him, and as soon as he had recovered himself, running to his companion who held the led horse, he mounted and made his escape. Thus died John Lisle, Esq.; son to Sir William Lisle of the Isle of Wight, a member of the Great Parliament, one of the Council of State, Commissioner of the Great Seal, and one of the assistants to the Lord President in the High Court of Justice that was erected for the trial of the late King[1]. The government of Lausanna was so remiss in the pursuit of the assassins, that it was suspected they had some friends among them. And of this the villains themselves seemed to give proof; for before they had advanced half a league on their way, calling to some men who were working in the vineyards, they bid them give their service to the governors of Lausanna, and tell them they would drink their healths. But the common people openly cried out against the Burgomaster, and accused him of having favoured the assassins. And that I may do justice to the Bailiff of Lausanna, who had been absent for some time from the town upon publick business, I must not omit, that, when he heard of the assassination of Mr. Lisle, he said, that if he had been at Lausanna, those villains 1664

[1] Le jeudy xi Aoust 1664 en conseil: 'Ordonné, que le corps de Mr. Fild Anglais qui a êté tué ce matin en allant au presche à St. François par un coup de carabine qui luy a êté lâché par un cavalier étrangèr, sera enseveli au temple de St. Francois en considération de ses qualités.' (Ordonnances des conseils de Lausanne). No trace, however, of Lisle's grave is to be found at Lausanne. Stern, Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge, viii. 26. The joy of the English government at Lisle's fate is shown by the account of his death published in the official newspaper. See Appendix, p. 487.

1664 should not have continued so long there without interruption [1].

Upon this we received a great number of letters from our friends in several parts, to inform us of the rage of our enemies, and of their resolution to leave no means of destroying us unattempted, some of them having affirmed, that if they could not accomplish their design either by stabbing, poisoning or shooting, they were resolved to attempt us even in our lodgings. These advices, together with the death of Mr. Lisle, so alarum'd my companions at Vevay, that I found it difficult to bring them to any certain resolution, every one making a different proposition touching the way we should take to provide for our safety; tho' for my own part I thought nothing so rational, as to fortify our interest in that place, where the magistrates and people had been always more ready to oblige and serve us, than we could be to ask any favour from them. To this end, with the concurrence of my country-men, which I at last obtained, I went to Monsieur Geoffray, who was then Chatelain and Deputy-bailiff of Vevay, acquainting him with the letters we had lately received, and he readily offering to do whatever should be in his power for our service, I proposed, that, considering the design of our enemies was either to surprize us, as they had done in relation to Mr. Lisle; or, (all other means failing) to attempt us by open violence; for prevention of both, orders might be issued out to the

[1] The Council at Bern showed no lack of sympathy or activity. On Aug. 18 they ordered the Bailiff of Lausanne to find out all the circumstances of the murder and send them an exact report at once; and in order to show the other Englishmen the sympathy of the Council bade him to condole with them in its name, and warn them to be on their guard. On Aug. 22 the Bailiff's lieutenant, Seigneulx, who had shown insufficient zeal and industry in endeavouring to arrest the murderer, was ordered a reprimand. He was doubtless the 'burgomaster' mentioned by Ludlow. Polier, the Bailiff, was thanked by the Council at the same time. See Stern, Englischer Flüchtlinge, p. 27; Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte, 1874, p. 85; Life of Thomas Hollis, p. 629. Particular instructions were also sent to the Bailiff of Chillon, as to the disposal of a sealed box left by Lisle. It was by Lisle's wish to be handed over to his wife, but the greatest care was ordered to be taken lest it should fall into wrong hands.

town of Vevay, and to the other towns and villages of that jurisdiction, to seize and examine such persons as they should find cause to suspect; and that upon the sound of the great bell at Vevay, upon the firing of a great gun, or the view of a fire upon any of the towers of the said place, they should take arms, secure the passes, and seize all unknown persons in order to carry them before the Bailiff; and that if these signals should happen to be given in the night, they should be appointed to repair with their arms to our lodgings at Vevay, to receive such orders as should be necessary. The Chatelain approved the proposition, and desir'd, that such an order might be prepared, promising he would send it to the Bailiff to be signed; which being drawn up and sent to the castle of Chillion, the Bailiff most readily signed four orders of the same tenour, and directed them to Vevay, Moutre, the Tower and Bloney, with injunction that they should be published two several times in the market-places, and before the churches of the said places, that none might pretend cause of ignorance. This worthy person, as he had done us great honour upon all occasions, so at this time finding us to be extraordinarily persecuted, he resolved to shew us more than ordinary marks of his favour; and therefore when he came to town, accompanied by the Baron de Chatteler and Monsieur l'Hospitalier of Villa Nova, he was pleased to make us a visit, and to honour us with his company at dinner, expressing his abhorrence of the baseness and treachery of our enemies, and assuring us of his friendship and services to the utmost of his power. 1664

But Mr. Say, notwithstanding these assurances and the care he saw taken by our friends for our preservation, would by no means be persuaded to think himself safe whilst he continued in these quarters, where we were all so publickly known, and therefore resolved to retire to some place where he might be incognito[1], and to that end, accompanied

[1] William Say and John Lisle sat on each side of Bradshaw at the King's trial, as assistants to the President. When Bradshaw was absent (during the preliminaries of the trial) Say was appointed to take his place (Nalson, Trial of Charles I, pp. 9, 25). The time and place of Say's death are not known.

1664 by Colonel Bisco, prepared to depart for Germany, earnestly pressing me to the same resolution, and professing himself to be as much concerned for my safety as for his own. I gave him my thanks for his friendship; but acquainted him that I thought it much better to be in a condition of making opposition against my enemies, than to live in the perpetual fear of being discovered; with which being satisfied, he took leave, after he had assured me that if we should continue at Vevay till the next spring he would make us a visit.

The Court of England being informed of the assassination of Mr. Lisle, that King procured one Dr. Colladon, a native of Geneva then residing at London [1], to write to one of his relations in these parts for a particular information of that action, and to inquire of the same person if I continued still at Vevay, or had removed to Zurich, as was reported; which particulars being too well known to him, to need any such information, it may be justly conjectured, that this message was sent to no other end, than to feel the pulse of the gentleman, that by his answer he might know, whether he were a fit person to be employ'd in his honourable designs. Upon the reception of this letter, the person to whom it was directed, being a man of probity and honour, not only gave advice to our friends of the contents, but protested that if he had a thousand lives, he would lose them all, before he would do us the least injury, utterly refusing to give any information touching the things that were demanded. Monsieur de la Fleschere also was pleased to continue his care of our safety, advising us, that his kinsman Monsieur du Pre, accompanied by Du Broetti, and Du Fargis, had lately given a meeting at Yvian to one of the

[1] On Aug. 19, 1663, Dr. John Colladon and two Frenchmen were granted a pass to France; in a subsequent entry they are described as the Queen's servants. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1663–4, pp. 244, 263. According to Munk, Sir John Colladon, M.D., was a doctor of medicine of Cambridge, Nov. 23, 1635, and was elected an honorary member of the College of Physicians Dec. 1664. He was naturalised by Charles II, and was one of the physicians to the Queen. Roll of the Royal College of Physicians, i. 321.

duke of Savoy's guard who used to come into our parts; 1664
and that a certain Frenchman living at the same place, was also suspected to be of their gang. He added, that tho' he had received a thousand assurances from Du Pre that he would never make any farther attempt against us, yet he would not believe him, much less would desire us to rely upon his word, but rather that we should be constantly upon our guard, especially in consideration of what had lately happened to our countryman at Lausanna.

This was the last message we received from Monsieur de la Fleschere, who without any obligation laid upon him on our part, from the motives of humanity and true goodness, had been so generously serviceable to persons he never saw. For many days had not pass'd, before we were informed, that a difference arising between this gentleman and Du Pre, whose sister he had married, a certain gentlewoman of Tunno, with whom Du Pre was too familiarly acquainted, undertook to make up the dispute; to which Monsieur de la Fleschere consenting, and coming to her house for that purpose, was there shot into the body by Du Pre, and afterwards dispatch'd with a stilletto. But this not being done without noise, divers persons came about the door to enquire what was doing; to whom the gentlewoman answering, that there had been no other disturbance in the house, than what had been made by some children, they presently departed. Night being come, Du Pre went out; and after a short stay, brought two country-men with him, and compelled them to take up the body, and to lay it at the door of an infamous house in the same town, threatning to kill them if they disputed his commands, or should afterwards reveal the secret. And that it might be believed that his brother-in-law had been so used for endeavouring to effect some bad design, Du Pre went after them to the place where they laid the body, and firing a pistol, left that and a sword upon the ground by him: this hypocrite seemed to be much concerned for his death, and in deep mourning accompanied him to the grave; protesting to his sister, that he would willingly

1664 expend a great sum of mony to find out the murderer. Yet this mask was soon taken off; for the Parliament of Chambery in Savoy, having been informed of this murder, and deputed some of their number to make inquiry into the matter, they, by the depositions they received, suspecting Du Pre to have been the author, sent to seize him; but he having notice of their intentions, had made his escape before the officers could reach the house where he was.

In England, the Presbyterians had been long before ejected from all the benefices they possess'd, and rewarded in the current mony of those, for whose sake they had betray'd their friends: the prisons had been frequently fill'd with all sorts of men dissenting from the church establish'd by the Act of Uniformity: the people had been exhausted by frequent and excessive taxes to supply the luxury of the Court: great numbers of the officers of the old army had under false or frivolous pretences been imprison'd or executed: many of the Irish rebels had been restored to the lands that had been settled upon the English for the reward of their services and blood: plots had been contrived to furnish the court with a pretence to transport those they feared, to remote and barbarous confinements; and the design of subverting the rights and liberties of the nation, was become manifest[1].

March 2. 1665 In this posture of affairs, the Court of England thought fit to declare war against the States-General of the United Provinces; by means of which, some of our friends conceiving great hopes of the restitution of the Common-

[1] Even Clarendon admits that many persons were imprisoned on very insufficient evidence. 'There can be no doubt, but that there were many seditious purposes among those people . . . yet there was often cause to believe that many men were committed, who in truth had not been more faulty than in keeping ill company and in hearing idle discourses. Informing was grown a trade, which many affected to get money by.' Continuation, § 429. In one of his letters Ludlow refers to Rathbone's plot, as it was termed, in which he was accused of a share. He probably had this in his mind when he wrote this passage of the Memoirs. On the plot itself see Oldmixon, House of Stuart, p. 528. Rathbone was tried in April, 1666. See Appendix, p. 489.

wealth, enter'd into a treaty with divers principal ministers of that country, for procuring some forces to join with our oppressed party in England, against the common enemy[1]. Having received information of this treaty, and being pressed by a person of honour and integrity to declare my concurrence in the thing, I acquainted him, that tho' I should be ready to embrace any good occasion of serving the Commonwealth, and relieving my country from oppression; and that I had no great reason to be a friend to the present establishment, yet the treachery of the Dutch, in delivering our three friends into the hands of their enemies, made me fear the same treatment from them in case of an accommodation with England. For if they had purchased their former agreement with the price of that blood, I could see no reason to persuade me that they would not purchase another with ours: I told him, that all men knew they preferr'd the profits of trade before any other thing in the world; and how dangerous it might prove to engage with such a sort of men, I left to his judgment to determine; that being convinced in conscience, that they had contracted the guilt of the blood of our friends upon themselves, my duty would not permit me to act in conjunction with them, till they should make satisfaction for that injustice: however, I offer'd that if they might be brought to disown that action, as done by the influence of a particular faction, and promise, at a more convenient time, to punish the immediate authors, I would freely hazard my life in the expedition. 1665

In the mean time I received a letter from Mr. Say, who

[1] 'Algernon Sidney and some others of the Commonwealth party came to De Wit, and pressed him to think of an invasion of England and Scotland, and gave him great assurances of a strong party: and they were bringing many officers to Holland to join in the undertaking. They dealt also with some in Amsterdam, who were particularly sharpened against the King, and were for turning England into a Commonwealth. The matter was for some time in agitation at the Hague. But De Wit was against it and got it to be laid aside.' Burnet, Own Time, i. 414, ed. 1833. Compare also the quotation from d'Estrade's 'Negotiations' given in the note to Burnet.

1665 was then at Amsterdam; in which, among other things, I found these expressions;

'Believe me, Sir, things are so well prepared here to answer the good ends we all desire, that nothing seems to be wanting but hands to set the wheels going. Invitations and incouragements are not only offered, but pressed upon you; and there is no ground to fear their retreat, of which you seem to doubt. The ruin of the present government in England is certainly intended, and I have cause to believe will be effected; the States being unanimously for this war, and at last brought to see that their Commonwealth cannot long subsist, if monarchy continue in England. Of this they will soon give the clearest evidence, as well as of their resolution to assist the Commonwealth interest as far as shall be desired; in which they seem to be no less zealous, than how to defend themselves. As to the usage our three friends met with in this country, I have examined the particulars, and find the thing to have passed in a different manner than has been represented: they are able here to give you or any person satisfaction, that the matter does not lie so foul upon them, as is generally conceived; and would, if it might be any way conducing to the advantage of our affairs, set that business in its true light. But this is not thought advisable at present by many of our friends, who think such a course may too much alarum the Court of England, and put them upon measures of procuring peace at any rate. The King of England is never mentioned without the utmost contempt, and writings every day published to expose his person and government. You may propose what you please for your safety, and I dare answer it shall be granted: only I must take leave to tell you that the most private manner of treating is best approved by our friends. The offers they make here are very great, and yet no promises exacted from us for their security. Therefore I beg of you to think of seeing this place, and quitting the quarters where you are, that you may be instrumental in the service of your country at this time. I am certainly informed, that

considerable numbers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, sensible of their present servitude, will appear for us; and such measures will be taken here for their assistance, that I have great hopes of success. Nothing seems now so much wanting as fixed councils both here and in England, and no one can be more serviceable than your self in this important matter: I beseech you therefore let us have your help, for we cannot be without it, and I am perswaded the work will prosper in our hands. Make all the expedition you can in your journey; for tho' this be not the conjuncture of action, yet I am perswaded 'tis high time to be preparing, and 'twill be to our shame if we neglect it[1].' 1665

About eight days after this, I received another from the same person; in which, having desired me to give credit to the contents of his last, he added, that the Heer Nieuport had at a conference assured him, that the intentions of the Government of Holland were to relieve the good people in England; and that he should be glad of any overtures to that purpose from me or any other persons; that there was more in the design of this war than was commonly understood, and that the destruction of the whole Protestant party was intended: that some of the most eminent of that religion in France, had sent messengers into Holland to give information of this matter; advising, that the States would make the best preparations they could for their defence, and assuring, that if they should be borne down in this war, the Reformed religion would soon be extinguished in France: that the Dutch had thirty thousand men ready to put on board their fleet, of which number ten thousand were land soldiers, and to be disposed

[1] A correspondent writes to Secretary Bennett on Aug. 20, 1664, that 'the news of Lisle's death had greatly discontented the faction, and enraged some who were disposed to be troublesome; their counsels are now totally changed, and the thought of any sudden attempt is laid aside, on the ground of a message from Holland, that the Dutch will contribute largely to the promoting of any troublesome design against the Government, provided all matters be carried on by the joint counsels of a select party in England and Scotland, who shall correspond with those in Holland. Sidney and Ludlow are to be the chief.' Cal. S. P., Dom., 1663–4, p. 671.

1665 as we should advise and direct: that a great sum of mony was prepared for this service, and that the whole fleet should be commanded to favour our enterprize: that if it should be thought necessary to transport horse into England, the States would willingly comply in that also, having resolved to endeavour a perfect friendship with the good people of England, which, he said, he hoped should never be broken. At the bottom of the letter were these words, 'I beg of you to lay aside all former prejudices, and as you love the cause in which you have ingaged, come speedily, and set your heart and hand to this work. I can certainly assure you, that the most considerable minister of this state, has lately very much inquired for you, and having received some account of you, has given us reason to hope, that if you will come to them in this conjuncture, they will place you at the head of such a number of men, as should by the blessing of God, and the concurrence of our friends in England, be sufficient to restore the Commonwealth. I dare assure you from the best information I can get, that on such an occasion there would be a greater appearance for us, than at the beginning of the late war. Let me therefore not hear from you, but see you[1].'

Tho' these offers were very advantagious especially to one in my condition, and the honour I received more than I could expect, yet these things, I thank God, were no temptation to me. The cause of my country which is dearer to me than my life, was that alone which made me earnestly wish, that I could have perswaded myself to lay hold of this opportunity, and to join with my friends in

[1] In Jan., 1665, Ludlow was reported to be moving from Switzerland to Holland, where he was enlisting the discontented English. A hundred and sixty English officers and fugitives were said to be in Holland. Their meeting-place was Leyden; their leaders, Ludlow, Desborough, and Col. Phayre. Rumours that Ludlow was in England, hidden in London or elsewhere, were also frequent (Cal. S. P., Dom., 1664-5, pp. 45, 149, 169, 235, 427, 567). The designs of the English exiles in Holland were revealed to the English Government by a number of spies. Aphra Behn's letters and many other informations are contained in the Calendar of Domestic State Papers for 1665-6.

this enterprize for our common deliverance. But the reasons before mentioned sate so close upon me; that I was constrained, not without great regret, to acquaint my friends with my intentions to persist in my former resolution, not to enter into a conjunction of counsels and interests with the Dutch, till they had given satisfaction touching the business of the three gentlemen they had so inhumanly delivered into the hands of our enemies, together with some reasonable assurances that they would not abandon the concernments of such as should join with them. 1665

In the mean time, a person of honour and quality of the English nation whom I had never seen, being then at Paris, took care to let me know by a third hand, that the King of England suspecting I would join with the Dutch against him, had caused the assassins to double their diligence, and that the person who had murder'd Mr. Lisle was come to Paris, accompanied with others of the same trade, and had undertaken either to carry me off alive, or to dispatch me upon the place. St. Du, another of this tribe, endeavoured also to engage one Monsieur Torneri, a gentleman of Savoy, and my friend, in the design against me, promising him a great recompence if it proved successful. He dated his letter from Paris, and desired the answer to be directed to one at Lyons. But Monsieur Torneri suspecting him to be nearer to us than he would have it believed, and being desirous to penetrate farther into their secrets, told him in his answer that mony was not to be refused; but that I kept my self so much upon my guard, that nothing could be attempted without previous consultation. This gentleman did me the favour to give me a sight of the letter and answer, with assurances of his service, and a promise to send me St. Du's reply as soon as it should come to his hands. He informed me also that Du Pre had been degraded, and broken on the wheel in effigie, for the murder of Monsieur de la Fleschere; that his estate in Savoy had been confiscated, and that he was fled for protection to the town of Friburg, and that he was countenanced by the

1665 magistrates of that place. These things made me resolve upon withdrawing from my lodgings at Vevay, and lying privately for some time, that my enemies might be amused, and uncertain how to lay their designs; which having done, it produced the effect I desired. For no sooner had I withdrawn my self from the publick view, but it was generally concluded that I was gone for Holland, which I conjecture might put a stop to the designs against me for that time, and rendred my countrymen at Vevay more safe and undisturb'd than they had formerly been.

During this retirement, I received letters from my friends in England, with advice that four persons had been dispatch'd by the King for our parts with the accustomed instructions; but hearing no more concerning them, I concluded they were either the villains of whom I was already informed from Paris, or part of those who had been sent to Ausburg, with orders from the same hands to assassinate Colonel Algernon Sidney; and probably being ten in number might have effected their design, if having undertaken a journey to Holland upon business relating to the publick, he had not removed from that place before their arrival. After I had continued about six weeks privately with my friends at Lausanna, I returned to my quarters at Vevay, and had not been there above eight or ten days, before a Frenchman, well furnished with mony, and arms, came to one Monsieur du Fort, a merchant of Vevay, with a letter unsealed from a trader of Geneva, who was little known to him, which contained an account, that the person who should bring him that letter, having been prosecuted in France, for getting a wench with child, had desired to be known to some persons in this place, which he had chosen for his retreat. Tho' such a recommendation had been sufficient to have caused him to be whipp'd out of the town; yet other things contributed chiefly to his removal. For it had been observed that he had acknowledged he came lately from England, and seemed to be well informed of the affairs of that Court; that he was no less instructed of all the circumstances of the assassination of Mr. Lisle; that he

intruded into all companies, and had endeavoured to lodge in several houses that stood most convenient to discover our usual walks; that he had expressed his discontent, that no one would entertain him without the permission of the Council, and had offered to pay double at certain places for a lodging. To this was added, that on a market-day, having dressed himself in the habit of a buffoon, with a basket on his back, and wooden shoes on his feet, he bought many things that were to be sold at much more than the value, and gave them to the meanest of the people, drawing by that means many idle persons after him. Upon consideration of these things, the Chatelain, by order of the Bailiff, went attended with his officers to the inn where he lodged, and upon examination, finding him unwilling to tell his name, or business in this place, he acquainted him, that by reason of divers attempts that had been made against the English gentlemen, who had been taken by their Excellencies into protection, it had been resolved that no stranger should remain at Vevay, without giving a good account of himself; which he having not done, had incurred the consequence, and therefore must resolve to depart within the space of twenty four hours. He was much disturbed whilst the Chatelain was present; but having recovered his spirits by drinking brandy after his departure, he hired a boat for Villa Nova, pretending to go directly for Milan, but we were informed afterwards, that from Villa Nova, he turned short to Savoy, and by the way of Lyons went to Paris. 1665

Some publick business requiring the presence of Mr. Treasurer Steiger at Vevay, he came accompanied by Monsieur Lentulus, late Bailiff of Lausanna, Commissary General Godart, and another person of the Senat of Bern; and having dispatch'd his affairs, did us the honour to make us a visit, in which having expressed great kindness and friendship, he informed us, that Du Pre had procured the magistrates of Friburg to give instructions to Colonel Pharamond, and their other deputies then at Bern, to sollicit their lordships for the restitution of his lands; but

1665 that the Council was so far from doing as he desired, that
June 12. they forthwith caused the Advoyer to issue out an order to seize his person if he should come within the territories
July 3. of their jurisdiction, and to send new instructions to the Bailiff of Morges, for receiving his rents, and employing them in publick uses[1]; directing the said Treasurer Steiger to give the deputies an account of their proceedings; which when he had done, and acquainted them with the attempt Du Pre had made to assassinate us, together with the murder he had committed upon the person of his brother-in-law, and many other villanies of which he had been guilty, the colonel said, that he had not heard any thing of these matters before; and desiring to be excused, promised never to open his mouth more in his behalf. The next day we returned the visit we had received from the Treasurer and his company, and were most affectionately received, all of them expressing themselves with the utmost friendship, and assuring us of the care and favour of the government.

Of this we had in a short time the most evident demonstration; for their Excellencies of Bern having received information that Du Pre designed to take a journy to a place in Burgundy, called Joigny, they sent out two parties to lie upon the way; one of which meeting with him, and commanding him in their lordships name to surrender himself, he at first made some resistance: but finding that way too hazardous, he clapp'd spurrs to his horse, and when he was at some distance from the guard, endeavouring to leap a deep and broad ditch, he fell with his horse into the middle of it. Some people who were carrying in the harvest, seeing him in distress, and not knowing that he was pursued by publick authority, hastned to his relief. But he being conscious of his own crimes, and therefore suspecting all men to be his enemies, fired one of his pistols upon them, which provoked the countrymen to entertain him with stones, till the officers came up, and seized him. They found a case of pistols at

[1] Cf. Stern, Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge, p. 27.

his saddle, another pair at his girdle, and a carabine hanging by his side. In his pocket was a letter directed to him without any name subscribed, containing in substance, that he should inform himself where the great whale or the little old fish might be found ; and give notice if any publick honours had been done to the memory of the English gentleman who was kill'd at Lausanna. The rest of his papers and letters he had torn in pieces before he could be taken ; but upon putting them together in the best manner that was possible, it appeared, that most of them had relation to the same subject, and were full of malicious expressions against the government of Bern. He was carried to the house of one Monsieur de la Berchere, a gentleman living near the place where he was seized, and being kept there all night, he was the next day brought prisoner to Yverden, and committed to the castle. 1665

Their Excellencies having received information of the seizing and imprisonment of Du Pre, dispatch'd orders to their officers at Vevay, to examin all persons upon oath who might know any thing concerning the attempt made against us, in which he had been a principal actor ; and to transmit to them the examination and confession of the waterman which had been taken by the Bailiff at the castle of Chillion. Whilst the evidence was preparing against him, great interest was made to their lordships of Bern for their favour to the prisoner. But meeting with cold reception from them, they applied themselves to those of Yverden, who were to give the first judgment in the case. His mother being admitted to speak with him in presence of the guard, told him, that certain fathers Capuchins would remember him in their prayers. But he had another game to play ; and having already promised to quit the Romish superstition, and to educate his son in the Reformed religion, if by that means he might save his life, answered, that he owned no such persons to be his fathers ; that he needed not their prayers, and that they might have enough to do if they would pray for themselves. By these and other artifices that were used by himself and his friends, July 12.

1665 the officers of justice at Yverden were perswaded to sentence him only to be banished, and to pay the fine of one hundred pounds; but four of the twelve who were his judges dissented from the rest, and not only voted him worthy of death, but signed a paper to that purpose, and presented it in their own persons to their Excellencies, that they might acquit themselves from the blame of this proceeding[1]. When the judgment was presented to the Lords of Bern for their approbation, they esteemed it to intrench upon their sovereignty; in that an inferior jurisdiction had taken upon them not only to moderate the punishment, but also to ascertain the fine. His mother, and divers other persons who had accompanied the sentence to Bern, most earnestly sollicited to get it confirm'd; but because Mr. Treasurer Steiger was to go to Friburg the next day about some publick affairs, the consideration of this business was deferr'd for seven or eight days. At which time the
Aug. 17. treasurer being returned, the cause was heard before their Excellencies; and after mature deliberation, Du Pre was condemned to lose his head on the next ensuing Monday. The principal crimes objected against him were, that he had stolen and ravished the person he had since married, who was born and resided within the jurisdiction of Bern; and that he had made an attempt to assassinate one or more of the English gentlemen that were protected by their Excellencies. He denied that he had taken his wife away in a violent manner, or that he designed to take away the life of any other Englishman except me. He said also, that having resolved to use him thus, they might have acquainted him sooner with their intentions, and not have incouraged him to such a mispending of his time as they had done. And indeed, tho' this could not justly be objected to their Excellencies, who designed no more than that he might be civilly entertain'd till the time of his trial, yet divers of the magistrates of Yverden,

[1] On the trial, see Stern, pp. 28–32. The letter containing the reasons of the Court at Bern for disapproving the judgment of the Court at Yverdun is printed there, p. 30, dated Aug. 17, 1665.

can by no means be excused, who drank and plaid at cards with him in the prison. The day appointed for his execution being come, he was brought down; but the terrors of death, with the dismal reflections upon his past life, seized upon him to such a degree, that he fell into a rage, throwing himself on the ground, biting and kicking those that stood near, and asking if there were no hopes of pardon. He was told that he ought to remember, that if he had been taken in his own country where he had murder'd his brother-in-law, and had been broken in effigie on the wheel, he should not have been used so gently. He refused to go to the place of execution any otherwise than by force; so that about two hours were spent before he arrived at the place where he was to dye, tho' it was within musket-shot of the prison. Here the executioner put a cap on his head, and placed a chair that he might sit; but he took off the cap and threw it away, and kick'd down the chair among the people. When the executioner saw this he tied his hands between his knees, and having assured him, that if he persisted in his resistance, he would cut him into forty pieces, after about an hour's contest, he at last performed his office. 1665

Soon after this, Mr. Treasurer Steiger, accompanied by our Bailiff and some gentlemen of Bern, was pleased to make us a publick visit [1], leaving the officers that attended

[1] Instruction to the Hon. Treasurer Steiger. 'Having deliberated to-day, as it was referred to us, upon the subject of those Englishmen who reside at Vevay: their Graces have not found proper, at present, to desire their further retreat, seeing no reason for it; but to let things remain as they are, in expectation of what events time may produce. That nevertheless he might after harvest-time, occasionally endeavour to make them sensible, how little they are in safety where they reside at present, leaving it to their own judgment to seek for shelter somewhere else, and to watch for their security. And their Graces being informed, though they can hardly believe it, that they have armed some men for their defence: he should enquire into the truth of it, and if the report should be found true, dissuade them from such illegal practices, as a thing of bad consequence.' Dated, Aug. 21, 1665. From the Council-Book of the Republic of Bern. This seems to explain one of the reasons for Steiger's visit. It is quoted in the Life of Thomas Holles, p. 630, in a translation. The original is printed by Prof. Stern, Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge, p. 32.

1665 him, who were fifteen or sixteen in number, at our gate, to the end, as he informed us, that the people observing the consideration and favour we received, might be quickened in their duty upon any occasion that might happen. He gave us an account of the proceedings against Du Pre, and informed us, that when the waterman of Morges had carried his mother back to Tunno, and those of that place had taken the liberty to censure the justice of Bern; Madam de la Fleschere, the widow of our good friend and sister to Du Pre, coming to meet her mother at the water side, had presently silenc'd them, and openly said, that tho' he was her brother, yet she acknowledged their Excellencies had done nothing in relation to him but that which was most just. In this conversation he informed us also, that being in Italy in the year 1643, when the war between the late King and the Parliament was, as he expressed it, most inflamed, he had there seen a bull from the Pope, for incouraging all good Catholicks to take arms for the King against the Parliament, promising that those who should lose their lives on his side in that quarrel, should go forthwith to Heaven. Which is so plain that it needs no comment.

By this time, my friends in Holland began to think they had been deluded with vain hopes from that people; but being unwilling to take the shame of their credulity upon themselves, they resolved to lay the blame upon me; alledging, that those of the States who had treated with them, having inquired why I was not come to Holland, and receiving no satisfactory answer, had concluded we were not agreed among our selves, and on that account would not proceed to finish the treaty. Whereas indeed the true reason was, that they were still in hopes of patching up a peace with England, or if that should fail, they promised themselves the assistance of France, whose interest seemed to be very different from ours. Accordingly the King of France being sollicited by the Dutch to make good the last treaty with that state, and finding he could not procure a peace for them, withdrew his ambassador from London,

and declared war against England: soon after which a declaration of war was also published in London against the French King, and entertained by the people with great joy, the Mayor and Aldermen attending on the proclamation in their habits of ceremony. 1666 Feb. 10.

On occasion of this war, one Monsieur Stuppa, a native of the Grisons, formerly a minister, and at that time an officer in the French service, was sent into his own country to raise men; and having performed his commission, resolved to pass by Vevay in his return to Paris [1]. Being come to this place, he procured some of my friends to desire me to give him a meeting, to which I consented. After some general discourse upon the present conjuncture, he acquainted me, that tho' he had no express orders either from France or Holland to make any proposition to me; yet he acknowledged, that the Dutch Ambassador then residing at Paris, had so far opened himself, as to tell him, that his masters designing nothing more in this war than to secure themselves from such double dealing as they had met with from the English Court; and their quarrel not being against the people, but only against the King of England, he hoped I might be brought to act in conjunction with them for the good of my own country. Then he

[1] Brigadier Stouppe, a Protestant officer in French service, is often mentioned by Burnet in his History of his Own Time. According to Burnet he was 'a Grison by birth,' and became minister of one of the French churches in London. In character he describes him as 'a man of intrigue, but of no virtue,' being 'more a frantic deist, than either protestant or Christian.' Cromwell employed him to enquire into the state of the French protestants. Burnet travelled to Italy with Stouppe in 1685, and heard much gossip about Cromwell from him. Own Time, ed. 1836, i. 120, 132, 144, 612; iii. 82. Stouppe was the great recruiting agent of Louis XIV in Switzerland after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and in 1671 raised about 19,000 men. Extracts from his letters to Louvois are printed by Rousset in his Histoire de Louvois, i. 333-5, 6th edition. He was also employed by Louvois to write pamphlets against the Dutch and the Prince of Orange; ib. p. 431. See also Vulliemin, Histoire de la Confédération Suisse, ii. 197, ed. 1879. Rousset terms him 'Un Grison nommé Stoppa, homme d'honneur, d'esprit et des ressources, bon officier, négociateur habile, capable de tout, même d'improviser, au courant de la plume, entre deux actions de guerre, un libelle contre le Prince d'Orange ou contre l'Empereur.'

1666 proceeded to ask what grounds there might be to hope that the Commonwealth party, with a moderate number of forces to join with them, would be able to carry their point, professing himself to be as well in judgment as interest disposed to wish them well: and on this head we went over many particulars, tho' I durst not be so free with him as was requisite to a full clearing of such matters. Some days after this, we had another conference, in which by the perswasion of a particular friend, I acquainted him, that if any just and honourable way should be proposed for the restitution of the republick in England, I would readily use the best of my endeavours, and hazard my life in that service. He seemed well satisfied with this answer; and having assured me that a great sum of mony would be advanced to give life to the interest of our friends, and to assist them in their preparations for action, we agreed on a way of correspondence, and so parted.

The next morning, one Mr. Constance came to me from the Count of Donnagh, with a message to desire me to meet him privately at Lausanna, which I promised to do the more willingly, because the said Count had lately given proof of his kindness to us. by sending me advice, that his ladies father passing through Chatillion, (the principal place of our enemies rendevouz) had been certainly informed, that those who had murder'd Mr. Lisle, were come again into these parts with intentions to assassinate us; and more particularly me, assuring, that I might give credit to the thing, because it had been imparted to his father-in-law, on supposition that he approved the design. The gentleman informed me also, that the Count had a commission from the States of Holland to raise three thousand men in these parts; that the Heer John de Witte had advised him to see me, and that he hoped the levies he was to make, might be imploy'd for the restitution of the Commonwealth in England. To which I answered, as I had done before to Monsieur Stuppa, that I was always ready to lay down my life in so good a cause.

Few days after this, I received a letter from Holland to

inform me, that our friends were entring into new measures, 1666
and that the Heer John de Witte, together with the Heer Nieuport, and others who seemed most affectionate to us, had advised, that for several reasons, the treaty between Holland and our friends might be carried on at Paris; that Colonel Algernon Sidney and I would repair to France for that purpose, where we should be lodged at the house of the Dutch Ambassador, promising that we should have passports in the best form, requiring all magistrates and other officers in that kingdom to be serviceable and assisting to us. In the same packet I had another from England to inform me, that the condition of our friends there was not contemptible, and that they thought no hazards too great to be ventur'd in order to deliver themselves from the evils they suffer'd, and greater which they had just cause to fear. They exhorted me therefore to lay aside all scruples and former prejudices, and to improve the present favourable conjuncture to the advantage of the Commonwealth. These letters were accompanied with three more; one from Colonel Algernon Sidney, inviting me to give him a meeting at Basle, in order to continue our journy from thence to Paris. The other two were written by Mr. Say, and Colonel Bisco, to press me to engage in this undertaking, promising, that if I would resolve to go, all the exiles would not fail to accompany me; and adding, that if I refused, they believed no man would stir. I found by these letters that there had been some heats and jealousies between Colonel Sidney and Mr. Say, the former charging Mr. Say with having privately disswaded me from engaging in this enterprise, and Mr. Say accusing Colonel Sidney of using all the means he could to discourage me; but to do them justice, I must needs say, that they both endeavoured to the utmost of their power to engage me in this affair.

These things brought me into great doubts and difficulties. For on the one hand, if I should neglect the present offers, and the design should miscarry, I foresaw that my friends, who had sollicited me to engage, would not fail to attribute the fault to me, by whatever

1666 means the ill success should happen. On the other side, if I should resolve to enter upon such a treaty, besides my own want of ability for the management of so great an affair, the unsuitableness of my principles and circumstances, together with the aversion I had to treat in France, and perhaps with that King's ministers, who had all along favour'd those bloody designs which had been contrived against my life[1], I could not see how I might come to any resolution, what to offer, demand, promise or perform. Being under this perplexity, I was attack'd again on the same account by two of our friends, who made a journy from Holland on purpose to perswade me to take part in this affair; so that finding my self thus pressed on all hands, I told them, that the Lord Jermyn being lately arrived at Paris, with orders from the Court of England, to treat of an accommodation with the King of France, in which he would not fail to be powerfully assisted by the Queen-mother of England[2]; this treaty might take effect, as that
April 18. of the Bishop of Munster with the States had already done; by which means it would certainly fall out, that, tho' we should not be betray'd by the French, which I doubted, yet the Lords of Bern would no longer think themselves obliged to protect us as they had hitherto done; that if the levies of Suiss soldiers which the States were about to make, should be designed for England as we had been informed, I thought my present stay in these parts might be of more use to the publick, than if I should take the journy that was proposed; and that for many reasons I was very unwilling to put my self into the hands of the King of France. Yet that they might see I would go as

[1] The danger which the republican exiles incurred in France was very considerable. In Jan. 1663, Johnston of Warriston was seized at Rouen, and lodged in Dieppe Castle, whence he was transported to England for trial. See Cal. S. P., Dom., 1661-2, pp. 593, 594; ib. 1662-3, pp. 12, 13, 25-28, 32, 38, 45, 140-144. In May, 1663, he was shipped to Scotland, where he was tried and condemned to death. Burnet, Own Time, ed. 1836, i. 361, 370.

[2] Jermyn obtained a pass for France March 23, 1666, and was sent to treat with Louis XIV in Feb. 1667. The first visit is here referred to. See Arlington's Letters, ed. Bebington, p. 131; Ranke, History of England, iii. 441.

great a length in this business as I could, I offer'd, that if 1666
the States should think fit to publish a declaration to acknowledge the error of delivering up our three friends; promise to use their endeavours to restore the Commonwealth to the exercise of their authority; furnish such a number of troops of the reformed religion as might be probably sufficient to protect our friends in coming into them, and oblige themselves not to leave us in a worse condition than we were at that time, I would heartily engage in the enterprize. With this answer my two friends returned to Holland, and being on their way sent me word, that the person who resided for the King of France at Mentz, and is brother to his ambassador at Ratisbonne, had been at Frankfurt on purpose to meet Colonel Sidney and me, supposing we had both been at that place; where in a conference with the Colonel, he had communicated to him a letter from Monsieur de Lyonne Secretary of State, written in cypher by the order of the King of France, in which he was commanded to acquaint us, that if we would go to Paris, we should have all the security the government could give or we could desire for the safety of our persons.

The Court of England having received some obscure informations of a design carried on by the Dutch to land some forces to assist their enemies at home, published a proclamation to require Colonel John Desbrowe, Colonel April 21.
Thomas Kelsey[1], Colonel John White, Major John Grove, Sir Robert Honywood junior, Captain John Nicholas of Monmouth, and divers other persons, to return into England, and to surrender themselves into the hands of some Justice of the Peace in the county where they should land, before the 23rd day of the next ensuing July, on pain of being proceeded against as traytors[2]. But not being

[1] Col. Blood seems to have finally negotiated the return of some of these fugitives. Desborough and Kelsey came to England and surrendered themselves in 1672. It was generally supposed, that Blood had procured a promise of indemnity for them. Somers Tracts, ed. Scott, viii. 449; 6th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm., p. 368; 7th Rep., p. 464.

[2] The Act attainting Doleman and other Englishmen in Dutch service

1666 contented with this, they employed a Jesuite to procure the Pensioner John de Witte to be murder'd, who not only undertook that employment, but promised to get me to be assassinated also. Myn Heer Nieuport, who had formerly been ambassador for the States in England, sent his son to Mr. Say to acquaint him with this matter, assuring him that the Jesuite was already come to Holland, and that they hoped to seize him; but lest other persons might be engaged with him in the design against me, of whom they had no information, he desired that I might be forthwith advised of what they had discovered; which Mr. Say punctually performed [1].

Our friends began now to perceive the effects of Jermyn's negociation, and that the French King would rather chuse to procure to himself the management of the Court of England at any rate, than either to do an honourable thing for men in distress, or to give his allies common satisfaction in the smallest things that might disgust his brother of England in this conjuncture. For the Dutch ambassador

which received the King's assent on Oct. 31, 1665, contained a provision that whilst the war with Holland lasted the King should be empowered to summon by proclamation Englishmen residing abroad to surrender themselves within a given time. In case of refusal to obey the proclamation they incurred the penalties of high treason. A list of persons to be thus summoned was drawn up on March 26. It contained the following names: William Scott, Sir Robert Honeywood junior, Col. John Desborough, John Grove, John Phelps, Col. Kilpatrick, Algernon Sidney, Oliver St. John, Richard Cromwell, Richard Steele, Col. Cobbett, Richard Deane, and Newcomen and Hickman ministers. Most of these names, however, were on consideration withdrawn. On April 9 the King signed a proclamation recalling the five persons first mentioned in the list of March 26, and adding to them Thomas Kelsey, John White, William Burton, Thomas Cole of Southampton, Spurway, Edward Radden, and Dr. Edward Richardson. In this second list the names of Algernon Sidney and Sir James Harrington were originally included, but afterwards erased. Finally, on April 21, the proclamation was printed with the addition of the name of John Nicholas of Monmouthshire. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1665-6, pp. 342, 348, 358. Depositions connected with the question of including Richard Cromwell in this list are printed at length in the Athenaeum, April 12, 1862, and in Waylen's House of Cromwell, p. 18.

[1] In a letter dated May 30, 1666, Ludlow gives Humelius an account of recent news from England, and mentions the receipt of this message from Nieuport. See Appendix.

having demanded that Te Deum might be sung in the great church at Paris for the late victory they had obtained against the English fleet commanded by Monk and Prince Rupert; he refused to permit it for three reasons. First, on account that they differed in religion. In the second place, that having had no forces in the engagement, he could have no share in the victory. And thirdly, that it would be of little advantage to either of the States to triumph over their enemies. Our friends had been made to believe that they should have the assistance of France in a great sum of mony; but few of them approved of their sending forces, as was at last proposed, suspecting their fidelity in case of success. And I think the event shew'd that this last proposition was made by the French (who had been lately intriguing with the Court of England) in confidence that it would not be accepted. 1666 June 1–4.

But however affairs might stand in France, yet our friends in Holland had not lost all hopes, as may appear by the following letter which I received from thence.

SIR,

'We cannot look upon the frequent and earnest applications of so many of our friends for your coming into these parts to be lost. We are fully satisfied of our interest with you, and have heard with joy the report of those gentlemen who were lately at Vevay, how much you are concerned for the publick cause. We cannot but be sensible of the difference between treating with a monarch, and engaging with a free state, and are glad to find that the same principles which arm you against the one, cause you to incline to the other upon reasonable terms; which we doubt not would be offer'd, if you would appear among us. They have here received such an account of the condition of our friends in England, that they are inclined to give us considerable succours of all things necessary for our enterprise. This is the second time that the States have caused a great body of land-forces to be shipp'd on board their fleet purely on our account, protesting in the most solemn manner, that

1666 they have no other design than to give the good people of England a seasonable and effectual aid. If we lose this opportunity, we may probably repent our folly, but shall hardly redeem our credit. For these reasons we renew our most affectionate desires that you would hasten to us, and hope for your speedy answer rather in person than by writing, lest this also be added to all our former afflictions, that another opportunity be lost.'

This letter being subscribed by many persons was sent to me by the way of Germany, and a duplicate being dispatch'd at the same time through France, I received both. From all which, considering that so much weight was laid upon my presence in Holland, tho' I could see little reason for their opinion, I resolved to insist no longer upon any thing to be done by the States previous to my engagement, but only that they would disclaim that action which had passed in relation to our three friends, and promise to make provision, in any treaty they should make with our enemies, for all those who should engage with them, or at least to leave them in as good a condition as they were at the time of their engagement. If this could be effected I determined to make use of the following passport, which I had received from the Count D'Estrades, ambassador for the King of France to the States General of the United Provinces [1].

[1] The history of this passport is explained by these extracts from the French archives quoted by Guizot. The Comte D'Estrades, French ambassador in Holland, writes to Louis XIV on March 11, 1666: 'M. de Witt has requested me to supply a passport to Messrs Sidney and Ludlow, enabling them to go into France. These are two men of great merit. They are at Frankfort, and have expressed a desire of waiting upon your Majesty on important business. M. de Witt has not told me anything further about them.' To M. de Lionne d'Estrades writes, on March 14: 'Mr. Sidney, a person of quality and of great desert, who was employed on important embassies by the late Protector, having informed me, that, at this crisis now that the King has declared war against England, he desires to place himself under the protection of his Majesty, and to go himself to France to offer his services if occasion should present itself for their exercise, I have deemed it right to give him my

'*Le Comte D'Estrades, Lieutenant-General en chef dans les armées du Roy, Gouverneur de Donquerque, Maire perpetuel de Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy de l'Amerique, chevalier des ordres de sa Majeste, & son ambassadeur extraordinaire en Hollande.* 1666

'Nous requerons tous Gouverneurs, Commandeurs, Capitaines, Lieutenants, Maires, Eschevins, Juges, & autres officiers tant de mer que de terre, à qui il appartiendra, de laisser seurement & librement passer, chacun par les lieux de ses pouvoirs & jurisdictions, le Sieur Edmond Ludlow & quatre valets, sans aucun trouble ou empeschement, mais plutost toute faveur, aide & assistance, & ils nous feront un singulier plaisir. Fait à la Haye le 2 jour de Mars, 1666.

D'ESTRADES.

His seal of Arms was here affixed.

The same in English.

'The Count D'Estrades, Lieutenant-General in chief of the King's Armies, Governor of Dunkirk, perpetual Mayor of Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy of America, Knight of his Majesty's orders, and his extraordinary ambassador in Holland.

'We require all Governors, Commanders, Captains, Lieutenants, Mayors, Sheriffs, Judges, and other officers to whom it may belong as well by sea as by land, to permit —— with four servants, to pass freely and safely through the places of their respective powers and jurisdictions, without

passport, in order that no opportunity which may arise for his serving his Majesty in this conjuncture may be delayed, leaving it for you to consider what may be best, after having had an interview with Mr. Sidney.' D'Estrades was blamed for his eagerness to give the passport. 'We shall endeavour,' writes M. de Lionne to him on April 2, 1666, to 'regain here the passports which you have given to Messrs Sidney and Ludlow. At all events, it is not the same thing that they should have been forwarded by a minister believing he would thus serve his master better, and that they should have had them from his Majesty himself.' Guizot, Monk's Contemporaries, trans. by Scoble, 1851, pp. 50, 52.

1666 any trouble or impediment, but rather all manner of favour, aid and assistance. Given at the Hague the second of March, 1666.

'D'ESTRADES.'

Aug. 25, 26. Some time after this, an engagement happening between the English and Dutch fleets, tho' both parties made bonfires for the victory, yet the Court of England conceiving the advantage to have been on their side, resolved to improve the opportunity for the advancement of the Prince of Orange. To this end the Earl of Arlington, who was then Secretary of State, wrote a letter to one Buat a Frenchman, with whom he had correspondence; and knowing him to be well affected to the Prince, acquainted him that he judged this to be the time of promoting that interest. Buat, who, tho' he had a military command in Holland, yet pretended to serve that state with intelligence from foreign parts, having on that account some paper to present to the Pensionary John de Witte, put the Lord Arlington's letter by mistake into his hands. Upon this, Buat was seized with his papers; which, as was said, gave them so much light, that Trump with his brother-in-law the Sieur Kuivoit of Roterdam, were removed from their employments, and forbidden to appear in any publick council; the latter, with one Vanderhulst of the same place, departing the country. Many others were seized, and orders being given to prose-

Oct. $\frac{1}{11}$. cute Buat for treason, he was found guilty and condemned to lose his head[1]. Trump was confined to his house, and the Baron de Ghent was appointed to succeed him in his command by sea.

About the middle of September, 1666, the Count of Donagh sent me advice by M. Constance, that, having been at Chatillion, the usual place of our enemies rendezvouz, he had obliged the master of the inn where they met, to promise, that if he should discover any persons to have a design against us for the future, or if those who formerly

[1] On Buat's intrigues, see Pontalis, Jean de Witt, i. 389–395; Clarendon, Continuation, §§ 835 855, ed. 1857.

frequented his house on that account should at any time return thither, he would not fail to inform him forthwith. This message was the more seasonable, because within few days, our good friend Monsieur Torneri, upon whom alone, since the death of Monsieur de la Fleschere, we depended for intelligence from Savoy, was murder'd by Du Fargis, one of those who with Du Pre attempted to assassinate us in the year 1664. It was said, that Monsieur Torneri had spoken some words concerning Du Fargis, which containing too much truth, and therefore most offending; Du Fargis having waited some time for an occasion of revenge, at last shot him in the head, as he was on horseback taking leave of his sister at her house in Yvian; of which wound he died the same day. 1666

The Court of England having procured from the Parliament a grant of about eighteen hundred thousand pounds, under colour of carrying on the war against Holland and France; began immediately after the prorogation of the Parliament, to discover their intentions to make peace with their neighbours. Presents and offices of civility passed frequently between Paris and London; and the King of France sent orders to all his ports, that if any English ships should be forced into them by stress of weather or otherwise, they should be received and assisted with all things necessary. The King of England acquainted the ambassador of Sweden, that as mediator he might intimate to the States, that upon an invitation from them, they should not find him averse from peace, and that he was contented the Hague should be the place of treating. But the Pensionary John De Witte, who well knew what opportunities of sowing divisions among them the Hague would afford, calling to mind that the King had formerly pretended he would never be brought to treat in any other place than at London, and therefore suspecting that by this seeming condescension he might propose to himself to do that by little arts, which he could not compass by open force, procured the States to excuse themselves from treating at the Hague, under colour that being an open

1667 town, they could not so well protect such ministers as should be sent to treat, from the insults of the people, as they had formerly experienced to their great regret, and to offer Utretcht, Breda, or Maestricht for the place of treating, at the choice of the King of England. When the Swedish Ambassador had communicated this answer to the King, he fell into a great passion, not so much on account of their refusal, but because he saw his designs discovered. However, being resolved not to set out the fleet, and therefore constrained to be calm, he swallow'd the bitter draught, and made choice of Breda for this purpose. He nominated Mr. Denzil Hollis, who for his merits in helping to bring about the late change, was now called Lord Hollis, together with one Mr. Coventry to be his commissioners for treating the peace, putting on an appearance of caressing the Dutch, calling them his allies, offering that each party should keep what they possess'd, and that the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662 should be the foundation of this. The seamen wanting employment, enter'd themselves for the most part into the service of the merchants, and some of them into that of the States; by which means it became impossible to man out a fleet upon any occasion however pressing.

The Dutch being well inform'd of what pass'd in England, and thinking this opportunity not to be neglected, made as great preparations for war as they had ever done. De Ruyter was appointed to command the fleet, and four thousand land-men were put on board under the conduct of one Colonel Doleman, an experienc'd officer, and who for not rendring himself within the time limited by the late proclamation, had incurred the penalty of treason by virtue of a late act passed at Westminster, and on that account believed to be more firm to their interest [1]. In this con-

[1] Col. Thomas Doleman commanded one of the Anglo-Scotch regiments in the Dutch service. Anticipating a war with Charles II, the States, who had in their service four English and three Scotch regiments, disbanded them, forming from those officers and soldiers who desired to remain in Dutch pay, three new regiments, from which they exacted a new oath of fidelity (Feb. 1665). Doleman,

juncture, my friends and country-men in Holland attack'd me again with letters, assuring me, that nothing could hinder the speedy dispatch of this fleet but the expectation of my arrival; that the States had resolved to land a considerable force in a certain place in England by their advice, and that our friends in England should have timely notice of their intentions; that Colonel Doleman was to command those troops as general, unless I should arrive before the sailing of the fleet, and in such case it was order'd that he should have the next post under me. But having received no satisfaction touching those things upon which I had formerly insisted; being of opinion that it lay within the power of the Court of England to make peace with the Dutch when they pleased, and conceiving that the great preparations made by the Dutch, and the correspondences kept on foot with our friends were only in order to constrain the King to a compliance with them; I returned for my answer, that I thought Colonel Doleman, who was in the actual service of the States, and an able officer, to be much fitter for that employment than my self. But if, contrary to my sense of things, the States and our friends should judge otherwise, I told them again, that if I might have satisfaction in the two points I formerly mentioned, I would not be wanting to contribute my best assistance to the service of the publick, tho' in the lowest degree of employment; and that if I might be assured that a journy to Holland at this time would not tend to deprive me of the protection I now enjoy'd, I would not fail for their satisfaction to undertake it without delay, that we might debate these things together upon the place. It soon appeared that I had good ground for this caution; for upon the arming of the Bishop of Munster contrary to the late agreement he had made, and the restitution of Rhynberg 1667

Kilpatrick and Acker (?) are said to have been the names of the Colonels. Pontalis, Jean de Witt, i. 338. The Parliament of 1665 passed an act for attainting Thomas Doleman, Thomas Scot, and Joseph Bampfield, if they did not render themselves by a certain day (L. J. xi. 700). Doleman commanded the troops on board the Dutch fleet in the summer of 1667. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1667, pp. 291, 354.

1667 demanded by the Elector of Colen, together with some other accidents, the Dutch shewed themselves ready to treat with England, upon the foot of the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662, with little alteration in the articles touching the King's enemies, and none at all in that relating to the late King's judges.

The English plenipotentiaries, notwithstanding the ill condition of affairs at home, spent a whole month at Breda without entring into conference with those of Holland, which with the quarrels that happened between these two ministers, gave the States a farther occasion to improve the present conjuncture to the best advantage; many of them declaring openly that they would protect the most obnoxious of the King's enemies. In this resolution they sent their fleet to sea, and made directly for the river of Thames with their land-forces on board. The Court of England having made no preparations for the defence of the nation, was alarum'd to the last degree with the news of their approach; and at the first meeting of the Council, a proposition was made to assemble the Parliament with all possible expedition, tho' they had been adjourn'd to the tenth of October, that by their advice either a peace might be made to the satisfaction of the nation, or the war carried on to the best advantage. On the other side, the Chancellor Hyde knowing himself to be in danger from the Parliament, did all that he could to oppose that motion; and conceiving an army more useful to promote the arbitrary designs of the Court, took this occasion to propose the raising of twelve thousand men. And tho' the major part of the Council carried it for assembling the Parliament on the 25th of the next ensuing July, and that a proclamation should be forthwith published to that end, yet the design of raising an army was not laid aside.

The Dutch admiral finding no enemies at sea, resolv'd to attack the English in their own harbours, and to that end made all sail for the river. The first English ships he saw were eight or nine outward bound merchant-men with their convoy, which upon discovery of the Holland fleet having

tack'd about, he chaced them up to the Hope; but being suddenly becalmed, he was oblig'd to come to an anchor. Here he met with a storm, which ending in a favourable north-east wind, he stood towards the Isle of Shepway, and being arrived there, he landed about eight hundred men, seized the island, and took the fort of Sheerness, a ship of war that lay for the guard of that fort, being taken by some of their great ships at the same time. Having possessed themselves of this fort, eighteen of their lesser vessels with some fire-ships, under the conduct of Vice-Admiral Van Ghent, sailed the next day into the river of Chatham, and notwithstanding the ships that had been sunk to hinder their passage, came up to an iron chain that traversed the river, and had been made on this occasion, fought the Mathias and Charles the Fifth, which were order'd to defend it, killed most of their men, burnt the ships and broke the chain. Then passing by Upner-Castle they burnt the Mary, took the Unity and the Royal Charles, and placed their colours upon the latter in view of her master, who stood on the shore observing the effects of his prudent and vigilant government. On the third day they burnt the Royal Oak, the Royal James, and the Loyal London, with divers other smaller vessels. In this deplorable state of affairs, Monk being desirous to save the remaining ships, he caused them to be sunk in the river, and order'd fire-ships to fall in among the Dutch fleet, but without the success he expected. In the mean time, the trained-bands from all the adjacent parts were marching towards Chatham, to endeavour to prevent farther mischief by land; nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwal; and platforms furnished with artillery and works to defend them, were raised in divers places to hinder the enemy from coming up to London. But the Dutch, who had another game to play, having exacted a sum of mony from the inhabitants of Shepway, and carried off the guns and ammunition they found at Sheerness, fell down with their fleet to the Buoy in the Nore, and Solebay; giving leisure to all parties to make their reflections upon this

1667

June 11.

June 12.

June 13.

1667 expedition ; the Court in the mean time taking hold of this occasion to colour the raising of land-forces [1].

These losses, and this dishonour falling upon the English, were not without effect at Breda. For their plenipotentiaries, who had hitherto been very slow in their negotiation, now applied themselves so effectually to the work, that in two or three days they made a considerable progress in the treaty, and agreed to the articles that were thought to contain the greatest difficulties. One article concerning Denmark retarded the conclusion for some days, the English ambassadors desiring time to know the King's pleasure in that matter. But he being compell'd to submit to the present necessity, order'd them to sign all, expecting
June 29. to take revenge at a more convenient time.

By this time it was manifest, that tho' the Pensionary John de Witte, and the Heer Nieuport, with one or two more might be sincere in their dealings with us; yet the far greater part of the States and their officers had desired our conjunction with them for no other end, than to procure better terms for themselves from our common enemy, chusing rather to see a tyranny than a Commonwealth established in England, as knowing by experience that they could corrupt the former, and by that means possess themselves of the most profitable parts of trade. And therefore having procured from the English Court some new advantages for their commerce, notwithstanding all that had passed, and their most solemn protestations made to our friends, they agreed to articles touching the King's enemies, which were the same in substance with those of 1662, promising to deliver up those they call Regicides into the hands of the King's ministers, or others appointed by him; and to deal with all persons who

[1] The best account of the state of England during June 1667, the preparations for defence, and the Dutch attacks on the coast, is given by Mrs. M. E. Green in the Preface to the Calendar of State Papers for 1667. See also Ewald's 'Stories from the State Papers.' Languard Fort near Harwich was the only place seriously attacked (July 2), and here the Dutch were repulsed with considerable loss. Colonel Doleman was said to be in command of the troops landed.

should be declared fugitives or rebels, as I have mentioned already in another place: only forsooth those who flie to them for matters of conscience shall not be judged to be comprehended in that article; as if the King would not be glad to clear his hands of all those who have any conscience, having pressed them long since to shew their peaceable disposition by retiring into some of the American Plantations, where they might enjoy the liberty of their consciences without interruption. Besides, if he should desire to reach any persons who might withdraw to Holland on this account, 'tis but charging them with some heinous crime, and then they are to be treated as rebels and fugitives. But having purchased the former peace with the price of blood, they resolved to strengthen the second with the same cement. So that I think it may be concluded without injustice, that the Dutch had no real intention to do any good to those who were oppressed in England, and that it was in the power of that Court to make peace with them whenever they pleased, tho' with the ruin of those who should engage on their side. And I conceive my self obliged to bless God for the caution I used in requiring them to deal plainly and openly in the things which I demanded, and they pretended to do for us, before I would join in the undertaking. If the Dutch had been necessitated by ill success to accept such terms as they could get from the Court of England, I doubt not all the blame would have been thrown upon me; but since it pleased God to put it into their power to do us all the good imaginable, and our enemies all the hurt, 'tis past dispute that the defect was altogether in their will. 1667

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Parliament met on the 25th of July, according to the late proclamation; and entring immediately upon the debate of the army, which they resolv'd to break, spoke so clearly and freely touching that matter, that the Court resolv'd to give them a little interruption, hoping in that time to take off some of those who had appeared with the greatest warmth

1667 by such means as they had in their hands, or if that design should not succeed, to think upon taking new measures. To this end they were acquainted by the Chancellor Hyde, that it was the King's pleasure they should adjourn till the 29th of the same month: but before this message July 25. came to them, they had passed a resolution, that the King should be desired forthwith to disband the army he had lately raised. The day to which they had been adjourned being come, and the House full of members, their Speaker appear'd not, till the King came to the House of Peers, where, having sent for the House of Commons, he made a short speech touching the late peace, and then directed the Chancellor to do as he had commanded; who, without any preamble told them, that it was his Majesties pleasure they should be adjourned to the tenth of October next. But for all this, some of the Council had the courage to oppose these violent courses, and to advise, that the army might be disbanded according to the desire of the House of Commons, that the Seal should be taken from Hyde, and that the Parliament should meet at the time appointed, and be left to the liberty of providing for the publick safety in their own way. Pursuant to this advice, Monk was employ'd to demand the Seal of the Chancellor, and embraced this occasion of revenge with joy; for the Chancellor had openly blamed his conduct in presuming to attack the whole Dutch fleet the last year, whilst Prince Rupert with part of the English fleet was separated from him[1]. The Chancellor refused to deliver the Seal to Monk, under pretence that some men had suffered for parting with it too easily, telling him, that he would bring it to the King in Council the next day, being not without hopes by his interest and presence to prevail with them

[1] 'The King did yesterday send the Duke of Albemarle (the only man fit for these works) to him for his purse: to which the Chancellor answered, that he received it from the King, and would deliver it to the King's own hand, and so civilly returned the Duke of Albemarle without it.' Pepys, Diary, Aug. 26, 1667. Sir William Morrice was finally sent for the Great Seal on Aug. 30, with a warrant under the Sign Manual, and to him Clarendon delivered it.

to change their resolution. But his master finding himself obliged to give way to the present torrent, persisted in his demand, and having received the Seal from his hands, entrusted it to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of Lord Keeper. 1667 Aug. 31.

Among the various reasons that were given to justifie the King in abandoning the Chancellor to the resentment of the people, one was, that he had countermined the King in the design he had to be divorced from the Queen [1], under pretence that she had been preingaged to another person; that she had made a vow of chastity before her marriage, and that she was uncapable of having children. The person designed to fill her place was one Mrs. Stuart, a young and beautiful lady, who had some office under the Queen. The Chancellor, who had procured his daughter to be married to the Duke of York, and was therefore suspected of having made the match with the Infanta of Portugal, that he might make way for the succession of the collateral line, sent for the Duke of Richmond; and pretending to be sorry that a person of his worth, and near relation to the King should receive no marks of his favour, advised him to marry Mrs. Stuart, as the most certain way he could take to advance himself. The young man unwarily took in the bait, and credulously relying upon what the old Volpone had said, made immediate application to the young lady, who was ignorant of the King's intentions, and in a few days married her [2]. The King being thus disappointed, and soon after informed by what means this match had been brought about, banished the Duke with his new Dutchess from the Court,

[1] On this design for the King's divorce see Ludlow's letter of June 10, 1670, Appendix, p. 503, Christie's Shaftesbury, ii. 8, 41, and Burnet, Own Time, i. 474, ed. 1833.

[2] Clarendon refers to this charge in his letter of vindication to the King, Nov. 16. 1667. 'I am as innocent,' he writes, 'in that whole affair, and gave no more advice, or counsel, or countenance in it, than the child that is not born: which your Majesty seemed once to believe, when I took notice to you of the report, and when you considered how totally I was a stranger to the persons mentioned.' Continuation of Life, § 1181.

1667 and kept his resentment against the Chancellor to a more convenient opportunity.

By letters from Paris I was informed, that the Dutchess of Orleans, not at all discouraged by the unsuccessfulness of the attempts of her instruments against us, had openly declared, that she would not rest, till the design should be effected, if mony would bring it about; and to that end had employed other persons than those who had formerly endeavoured to assassinate us. Few days after, a Swiss merchant residing at Lyons, coming to Vevay upon business, relating to his profession, acquainted me, that having observed an English gentleman of a reserved carriage to have taken a lodging in a private house at Lyons, and finding upon inquiry that he was no trader; thinking him to be too far advanced in age to travel either for pleasure, or to acquire experience, and disliking the company he frequented, he began to suspect him to be one of those who were employed in the design against us; and being desirous to know the truth in order to do us what service he could, he soon found means to be introduced into his acquaintance. After two or three days' conversation, the gentleman finding him to be a Swiss, and of the Canton of Friburg, inquired of him whether Vevay were within that jurisdiction, whether the English gentlemen were still there, and in what number, and whether he had any acquaintance or interest in the place; and upon answer that he had many friends there, he began to make him great offers if he would enter into an engagement against us. He proceeded to tell me, that in order to draw out what he could of the design, he had objected the difficulty of the undertaking, by reason those gentlemen were so constantly upon their guard, and so well beloved by all persons in the town, that no stranger could come thither without being strictly examined and diligently observ'd: besides, that their Excellencies of Bern, by so severely punishing one of those who had attempted to assassinate them, had sufficiently declared to the world what usage others might expect, who should engage in such an

enterprize. To which the assassin made answer, that he 1668
was convinced that was no hope of carrying any of us off by force, or attempting against us in an open manner, but that the business might be done from a hedge or a wall by persons disguised; adding, that Riardo and others had foolishly squander'd away the mony of the Dutchess of Orleans; but that now the design was so well laid that it could not easily miscarry. This person he describ'd to be of a low stature, his hair of a dark brown beginning to turn gray, of quick apprehension, and of an active and strong constitution. He informed me also, that tho' some persons in Savoy had undertaken for a considerable sum to raise such a party of men as might seize us by open force; yet those who had engaged them, failing to supply them with mony according to agreement, that design, and all others of that nature, he believed, were totally laid aside. He concluded with assuring me, that he would take pains to learn what he could of this or any other thing that might concern us, and not fail to give me timely and faithful advice of what he should discover.

The part in this scene, on which our enemies laid most weight, was to be acted by one Roux, a quick witted, nimble tongued and confident French-man [1], who upon recommendation from France was entertain'd at the house of one Colonel Balthazar, in the country of Veaux, as others had been who were engaged in the same villanous design. He gave himself out for a considerable person, and pretended to be commissionated from the King of England, to treat about affairs of great importance with the four Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and more particularly with their Lordships of Bern. Colonel Balthazar

[1] A long account of Roux is given by Haag, in vol. ix. of La France Protestante. Ludlow knows nothing of the political designs of Roux, in whose schemes the design against the exiled Regicides filled only a very subordinate place. Claude Roux, Sieur de Marcilly, was born near Nismes, about 1625. A despatch from Ruvigny to Louis XIV, dated 29 May, 1668, gives the following account of Roux, who had lately come to London on a secret and dangerous mission. 'Ce scélérat se nomme Roux, âgé de 45 ans, ayant les cheveux noirs, le visage assez

1668 had lived for some time in the Palatinate under mean circumstances; but putting himself into the armies of the King of France, he in a short time by plunder and rapine had accumulated great riches. Between these two it was concerted, that Colonel Weiss, a Senator of Bern, whom I have had occasion to mention before, being at Geneva, by order of their Excellencies, for adjusting some matters in difference between that Republick and the Duke of Savoy, should, after he had dispatch'd his affairs, be

long et assez plein, plutôt grand et gros que petit et menu, de méchante physionomie, la mine patibulaire s'il en fut jamais. Il est huguenot et natif de quatre ou cinq lieues de Nismes. Il a une maison, à ce qu'il dit, à six lieues d'Orléans, nommée Marcilly. Il dit qu'il a servi en Catalogne, qu'il a beaucoup de blessures, qu'il a servi les gens des Vallées du Piémont lorsqu'ils prirent les armes contre M. le duc de Savoie; que V. M. le connoît bien, qu'il a eu avec elle plusieurs entretiens secrets et que, dans le dernier, elle lui a conseillé de ne plus se mêler de tant d'affaires; qu'il est au désespoir; que V. M. lui doit 80,000 écus qu'il a avancés, étant entré dans un parti dans la généralité de Soissons; qu'il est fort connu de M. le prince, et qu'il n'y a que lui nommer son nom. C'est un grand parleur, et il ne manque point de vivacité.'

Roux, according to his own account, had been sent to London by a committee of ten persons, catholics and protestants, of whom Colonel Balthazar and the Count of Dohna were two. The aim of this committee, of which he had been for six years the most active agent, was to set a limit to the ambition of Louis XIV, by forming a coalition against France, and provoking a revolt amongst the protestants of the southern provinces, which were described as 'si maltraitées qu'elles étoient résolues de se révolter et de se mettre en république.' He also said that an insurrection was about to break out, and hinted at the assassination of Louis XIV. 'Un coup bien appuyé mettroit tout le monde en repos.' He confided these designs to Sir Samuel Moreland, whom he had known in Cromwell's time, when Moreland had been employed on behalf of the Vaudois, but Moreland who was now in French pay, at once informed the French government. According to a rumour circulated in England, the Duke of York not only informed the French ambassador of the gentleman's errand, but placed him behind the hangings to hear what Roux had to propose. The story is probably a baseless fiction, and equally unlikely is the story that Roux was employed by the English government to invite the Protestant Cantons to join the Triple Alliance. (The Secret History of the Reigns of King Charles II and King James II, 1690, pp. 41, 58). When Roux was executed Arlington wrote to Temple, 'all he was trusted with from hence was, his own undertaking and unaskt offers of getting the Regicides sent out of Switzerland, he affirming he had credit to effect it, though the event showed the contrary.' Arlington's Letters to Temple, ed. Bebington, 1701, p. 409.

invited to the house of Colonel Balthazar. Which being accordingly done, Roux was introduc'd into his company, and after some discourse inform'd him, that the King of England was desirous to entertain a more particular correspondence with the Protestant Cantons, and especially that of Bern, than he had done for the time past, if on their part they would make him the compliment to desire it by an agent to be sent into England on that account, and preliminary to this treaty, would withdraw their protection from those who had contributed to the death of his father, expressing himself amaz'd that their Excellencies should favour those whom France and the Low-Countries had deliver'd up, and all other nations had abandon'd. An account of this business being sent to Bern, was imparted by Mr. Treasurer Steiger, to our true friend Mr. John Henry Humelius, with advice to inform me forthwith of what was doing. In the mean time, Roux made it his business wheresoever he came, to endeavour by aspersions to render us odious, and to justifie those who had kill'd Mr. Lisle at Lausanna, affirming they had been most liberally rewarded both in England and France, and that the King of England wanted not means to gratifie all those who should do him service. Of this I had certain and speedy information by divers persons, who at several times had heard these and the like discourses from Roux ; which I may not let pass without observing, that what he said concerning those who murder'd Mr. Lisle was so far from being true, that one of them died not long after he had committed that villany, in extream want, at a mean lodging in Westminster : and the other, tho' advanc'd to be a captain in France, complain'd of the ingratitude of those who had employ'd them, protesting they had never receiv'd any other reward than three hundred pistoles from the Dutchess of Orleans, of which two hundred had been spent in laying the design, and waiting an occasion of putting it in execution. 1668

Roux having inform'd himself as well as he could of things in these parts, address'd himself to some of the

1668 Jan. 26. government of Zurich, pretending to be sent from the King of England with a commission to propose that the four Protestant Cantons would enter into the alliance lately made by the King of England, the States of Holland, and the Crown of Sweden, for securing the peace between the Kings of Spain and France. Which proposition being communicated to the Council, they having been inform'd concerning the pretended agent, and the condition annex'd to his business, that their Excellencies of Bern should abandon the English, refus'd him audience under pretext that he had not any letters of credence, which he would have perswaded them he had left at a place in Burgundy call'd St. Claud. Having met with this cold reception at Zurich, he resolv'd to make tryal of the government of Bern; and accordingly procur'd one of their number to acquaint them with his propositions; but they us'd him more roughly, and order'd the person he had engag'd to inform them of his business, to let him know, that they approv'd neither of his person nor of his propositions, and that he might return by the same way he came. Yet all this was not enough to check the impudence of this fellow. For upon the return of Colonel Weiss from Geneva, (who had left the differences between that state and the Duke of Savoy in a fair way of accommodation) he attack'd him again, in hopes by his means to procure some interest at Bern; protesting that the King of England had a great desire to enter into a more particular alliance with that Canton than any other, provided they would deliver those who had adjudg'd his father to death into his hands, or at least withdraw the protection they had granted to them, tempting him with assurances, that whoever should carry the news of their concurrence to the King, should receive fifty thousand crowns for a gratuity. To which the Colonel made answer with more than ordinary indignation, that he could not think of the proposition without horrour; that it was derogatory to the honour of their Excellencies, and that it was not the custom of the Swiss to betray those who had put themselves under their protection. This attempt was

seconded by a letter pretended to be written from the Court of England, by one who would be thought a great friend to the Swiss interest, dated in August 1668, and address'd to one of the Syndics of Geneva, in order to be communicated to the governors of Bern. Having obtain'd a sight of this paper, I found in it the following words: 1668

'You are desir'd to give immediate notice to the Lords of Bern, that their enemies have endeavour'd to perswade his Majesty, that they have neither the respect nor affection for his person, that he might justly expect from them; that they have not only taken the murderers of the late King into their protection, but have publickly honour'd them with extraordinary favours. This report I have endeavour'd to discredit, even in the presence of the person who kill'd Mr. Lisle at Lausanna, assuring his Majesty, that if any such persons were within the territories of Bern, the government was not inform'd of their crimes; and that I firmly believ'd, if his Majesty should desire it, they would not only banish them, but deliver them up, as the Hollanders had done, to receive the just punishment of so horrible a crime.'

Upon this letter, and other artifices us'd by our enemies, Colonel Balthazar openly gave out, that this would be the last year of our residence at Vevay; but their Excellencies of Bern having perus'd the letter, and finding no name subscrib'd, concluded it to be written by some mercenary fellow, who had been hir'd to that purpose; and some of them did us the favour to promise that they would endeavour to find out the authors of the contrivance. Colonel Weiss also sent to inform me of the late conversation he had with Roux, and to assure us, that tho' he had been deluded into a good opinion of him, by the false pretences of Balthazar; yet being sufficiently convinc'd of his mistake, he should be always ready to serve us to the utmost of his power, and would answer that General D'Erlach should also do the same, with as many of the Senate as he could make to be our friends. These assurances were accompany'd with a message from the

1668 Advoyer, by one Captain Bartholomeo Turene, who had been an active officer in the defence of his country-men of the Vallies of Piedmont, against the tyranny of the Duke of Savoy. The contents of this message were to let us know, that tho' we might have some enemies, yet we had many more friends at Bern ; promising to continue his care of us, and to do his best to defeat the designs of our enemies [1].

About the same time, Mr. Treasurer Steiger coming to Vevay about the publick affairs, made us another visit, and did us the honour to dine at our quarters, accompany'd by the Bailiff of the town, and other principal persons of the country. In this conversation he inform'd us, that when application was made to their Excellencies, that they would appoint some persons to treat with Roux, or at least give him an audience, he had taken the liberty to say in the Council, that tho' there were no ground to suspect him of ill designs, as there was but too much, and that the King of England should send to them with all the ceremony and forms requisite to desire them to withdraw their protection from us, he could never prevail with himself to give his consent to such a resolution ; because the protection having been granted after serious deliberation, and the English gentlemen having done nothing to forfeit their Excellencies' favour, it ought in his opinion to be esteem'd sacred. He told us, that the person who had mov'd the Council to take Roux's business into consideration, had been publickly reprimanded for his forwardness in that matter ; and that their Excellencies had refus'd to receive an agent from the King of England to reside among them, returning for answer, that they had no business with that King for the present ; but if at any time they should have affairs to treat with him, they would address themselves by their own ministers.

Roux having met with the repulses above mention'd, and receiving information from the Bailiff of Nyon, that Monsieur

[1] An attempt was evidently made to render the exiles odious by drawing attention to their attitude with regard to Swiss Protestantism. See Appendix, p. 496.

Gabriel de Diesbach, at that time Bailiff of the jurisdiction of Vevay, had threatned to treat him according to his merits if he should presume to come within his power, retir'd to St. Claud, in the Free-County of Burgundy; having made great complaints of the usage he had receiv'd at Bern and Zurich; boasting of his correspondencies with the ministers of Sweden and Holland, as well as of his present employment from the King of England, and shewing letters from Don Diego de Castel-Rodrigo, governor of Flanders, to the governor of the County of Burgundy, desiring him to furnish mony and whatever might be necessary to his undertaking. From hence he went to Geneva, and was there seen frequently in the company of a certain stranger, who, by the description we receiv'd of his person, we found to be the same that had been for some time at Lyons, and of whom I had an account by the Swiss merchant of Friburg. After a short stay at Geneva, he return'd to St. Claud, and appearing in better equipage than he had formerly done, he sent one of his companions to the Bailiff of Nyon to inform him, that having receiv'd fresh instructions from the King of England, he had propositions to make to their Excellencies of Bern, which would be of great advantage to their Republick, particularly in the way of trade; desiring leave to be admitted to impart the heads of his negotiation to him. The Bailiff who had been sufficiently inform'd touching his person and designs, soon dismiss'd his messenger with this answer, that being abundantly satisfy'd his principal errant was to attempt something against those English gentlemen, whom their Excellencies had taken into their protection, and were resolv'd to defend, he would have nothing to do with him. But this proving not sufficient to oblige him to desist, he sent his messenger a second time to the Bailiff, to propose that he would surrender himself into the hands of the government of Bern, for caution that he intended no mischief to our persons; but indeed confess'd, that being charg'd by the King of England with propositions to those of Bern, tending highly to their advantage, he should not 1668

1668 consult the honour of his master, by treating with them, whilst his most dangerous and avow'd enemies were openly protected in their territories. Which being in effect the same with what he had said before, the Bailiff contented himself to return the same answer, and immediately dispatch'd his son-in-law to give me notice of what had pass'd, and to advise me, tho' there seem'd to be little probability of his daring to attempt us openly, and that Balthazar would not be thought to correspond with him, yet that we would be upon our guard against the private designs of both.

In the mean time, Monsieur Mouliere, who was then resident for the King of France in Switzerland, having receiv'd information from some persons (as I think I have reason to believe) that wish'd well to us, that this Roux, tho' a native of France, had sollicited the Cantons to enter into measures prejudicial to that King's interest, he presently dispatch'd advice of what he had heard to the Court ; upon which orders were given to one Monsieur Martel[1], who had serv'd under the Mareschal Turenne, to surprise and seize him. Martel having travers'd the country for some months, before he could find an opportunity to compass his design, at last fell acquainted with and easily corrupted a priest of St. Claud, who was a great confident of Roux, procuring him to send a messenger to Balthazar's house, where Roux then was, with a letter to invite him to the house of another priest at Roussaire, on the frontier of Burgundy, where he promis'd a great regale should be provided for his entertainment. Roux would by no means disappoint his friend the priest, and therefore attended only by one servant, and the priest's man, he set forward in the morning, that he might reach the place of appointment in convenient time. But Martel with his party having placed themselves in the way

[1] According to the account given by Haag, the persons who seized Roux were Pierre de Mazel and his brother, and three other French officers assisted by three soldiers of Mazel's company. Mazel was made a chevalier for his success, and authorised to bear a golden fleur de lys in his arms. The seizure of Roux took place on May 12, 1669; La France Protestante, ix. 60.

by which he was to pass, as soon as he saw him approaching, rode up to him and seized him. Roux his servant made his escape and left his master to shift for himself. But the priest's man who was ignorant of the design, supposing them to be robbers, made what resistance he could, and received a shot in the shoulder of which he died in a few days at Nyon [1]. Roux being thus seized, Martel order'd his hands to be tied to the pommel of the saddle, and his feet under the horse's belly, and in this posture carried him off. As they passed by the Abbey of Beaumont, which is situated within the territories of Bern, he began to call for aid, but a handkerchief being presently put into his mouth, his voice was not heard. In three days they arrived at Lyons, and secured their prisoner in the castle of Pierre en Scize, where after he had remained some days, he was transported to Paris, and imprisoned in the Bastille. 1669 May 2.

For this service the King of France rewarded Monsieur Martel with a thousand pistoles in mony, and a promise of the first company that should be vacant in his guards. The second person in this party received six hundred pistoles, and a promise of a foot company. The rest had fifty pistoles a man, and assurances of preferment according to their capacity. During the confinement of Roux, Monsieur de Lyonne, Secretary of State, went frequently to him in the prison ; but tho' it had been reported that he had contributed much to the making of the league called The Triple Alliance, yet he could draw nothing from him concerning any negotiations in which, 'twas said, he had been concerned. Only he told him, that he had things of great importance to discover, which he resolved not to communicate to any person but the King. In the mean time despairing of life, and dreading the punishment of the wheel with which he had been threatned, he gave himself a wound in the small guts with a knife he had procured

[1] See the order of the Council at Bern to the Bailiff of Nyon expressing their great displeasure at this act. Life of Thomas Hollis, p. 631. The original, which is considerably abridged in the English translation, is printed by Professor Stern in the Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte, 1874, p. 86.

1669 from one of his keepers; hoping by that means and an obstinate refraining from eating, he might put an end to his fears. On the 21st of June finding himself very weak, and as he thought almost ready to expire, he sent to acquaint Monsieur de Lyonne with his condition, and to let him know that he had hesitated too long. Upon this the Secretary went immediately to the King, and having informed him of the message he had receiv'd from Roux, the King sent one of his phisitians to him; who returning with all possible expedition, and representing the danger he was in, a letter was immediately drawn by Monsieur Colbert, signed by the King, and directed to the Lieutenant-Criminal to proceed without delay to his trial. Being brought before his judges, the witnesses deposed, that he had said, there were thirty Ravaillacs in France, which the King should find before the next August; with other things tending to prove that he had engaged in designs against the King's person. But he denied all, and refused, as before, to make any discovery of the things he knew, unless to the King himself. He was condemned upon the evidence to be broken alive on the wheel, and afterwards to be thrown into the common shore for endeavouring to kill himself in the prison; which sentence was order'd to be put in execution at the end of the Pont Neuf; but by reason of his weakness it was performed before the prison of the Chastellette, whither he had been removed from the Bastille [1]. This Roux alias Font-covert, and St. Marcelle, was a native of Nismes in the province of Languedoc, and had been a spy for the Court in the time of Cardinal Mazarin; for which service he had been rewarded with a patent for licensing stage-coaches and other publick carriages in the said province. But the Cardinal upon some information having suppress'd that grant, and remov'd his brother from another employment, he became so discontented, that he quitted the kingdom, and procur'd himself to be naturaliz'd in Holland. During his imprisonment,

[1] An account of the execution of Roux and of his behaviour on the scaffold is given by Haag, La France Protestante, vol. ix.

Spain, Holland and Switzerland demanded him of the King of France ; the first, because he was employ'd in their service ; the Hollander for the same reason, and on account of his naturalization ; the Swiss, only to lay claim to their right, he having been seized within their jurisdiction. But the Court of England was by this time become so intirely French, that they said not one word in his behalf. 1669

Our friends at Bern, according to their accustomed vigilance, gave us notice that a certain Englishman going by the name of Thomas Schugar, had applied himself to some of the magistrates, to procure them to recommend him to teach the mathematicks in that place, pretending to have been converted first from Popery to Lutheranism, and then from that to Calvinism, acknowledging that he had been a priest and a servant to the Queen-mother of England, and that he had been in arms for the late King to the year 1646, at which time, upon the dissipation of that party, he had transported himself beyond the seas, and continued abroad till the year 1660. They described him to be of low stature, ill looks, speaking seven or eight languages, and that he was very inquisitive after the English gentlemen, who had put themselves under their Excellencies protection. This person, under pretext that he could find no employment at Bern, came to Vevay, and used all means possible to become acquainted with some of our company, denying to them that he had ever been either a papist, priest, or servant to the Queen-mother. But being told that we had too good information from Bern to doubt of that matter, he finding himself suspected, and therefore not likely to succeed in his designs, departed from Vevay the next morning after this discourse. We understood afterwards, that passing by Ausburg he had been entertained for eight or ten days at the house of Mr. Oliver St. Johns, who had been formerly Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in England, and that having gotten the name of the person by whose means he received his letters, he had procured his correspondence to be interrupted ; which caused us to suspect that he had found means to serve us in the like

1669 manner, our intercourse with England being for some months wholly cut off 'till we had taken new measures to renew it [1].

About this time Henrietta Maria, Queen-mother of England and aunt to the present King of France, having been formerly an active instrument in contriving and fomenting the long and bloody civil war in England, and encouraging the barbarous massacre of the Protestants in Ireland; and more lately from a spirit of revenge and malice, a principal adviser of the cruelties acted in England
Sept. 10. upon the alteration of the government, died at Paris. Her distemper at first seem'd not to be dangerous, but upon taking something prescrib'd by the physicians to procure sleep, the potion operated in such a manner that she wak'd no more. She receiv'd threescore thousand pounds yearly from England, and yet left many and great debts unpay'd. She was our particular enemy, and had constantly favour'd the designs that had been carry'd on against our lives.

The Parliament in England having been prorogu'd for about eighteen months, met on the 20th of October, and the House of Commons being sent for to the Lords House, after the King had acquainted them with his joy to see them again after so long absence, he desir'd they would consider his debts, and exhorted both Houses to union. Which last admonition was thought to arise from a pamphlet that had been publish'd by the Lord Hollis, touching the case of one Mr. Skynner a merchant of London, against the East-India Company, in which discourse he seem'd to out-do the highest of all those who had ever written for the privileges of the Lords. This was a strange reverse of the medal; especially to those, who knew, that when he was a member of the House of Commons, he had so far despis'd

[1] St. John seems to have gone abroad in Nov. 1662; after concealing himself for a time in Sussex, he sailed on a French ship for Havre. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1661–2, p. 567; ib. 1663–4, p. 144. On July 10, 1667, a declaration was made that unless Oliver St. John returned within a certain time a writ of Privy Seal should be issued to command his return. This was ostensibly done on account of a law-suit about a will. Cal. S. P., Dom., 1667, p. 282.

the privileges of the Lords, that at a conference between the two Houses, in which the Lords shew'd themselves unwilling to comply with the Commons, he had openly said, that if they persisted to refuse their concurrence, the Commons would do the thing in dispute without them. However, one of the members of the House of Commons answer'd Hollis's pamphlet with such force and sharpness, that upon debate they came to three resolutions to this effect: that divers things affirm'd in his book were false and scandalous: that from this time the Lords shall never originally intermeddle with the cause of any commoner: and that what the Lords have done in the business of Mr. Skynner shall be razed out of their books. These votes being carry'd to the Lords for their approbation, they return'd for answer, that they would shortly send them a bill touching this matter. 1669

The King of France having resolv'd to visit his late acquisitions in the Low-Countries, put himself at the head of a great body of troops to that purpose; of which the States of Holland having receiv'd information, and that the Dutchess of Orleans would accompany the King to the sea-coast, and then pass over to meet her brother at Dover, they began not only to dislike the personal neighbourhood of the King of France, but vehemently to suspect that this interview was design'd to unite the two Kings against them[1]. And that they might not be wanting to themselves in this conjuncture, they immediately dispatch'd an ambassador to complement the King of France in his progress, and sent the Heer Van Beuningen into England, to endeavour to dissipate the clouds that threatn'd from that side. The Court of France, who were not ignorant of the designs carry'd on by the King of England, to subvert the laws and liberties of the English nation; and well understood how much the establishment of an arbitrary power in the Crown would contribute to weaken that force which had been so formidable under a free government, had instructed the Dutchess of Orleans not only to offer mony to her brother, in case the usual 1670 May 1670.

[1] See Ludlow's letter of June 10, 1670, Appendix, p. 502.

1670 way of supplying his luxury by Parliamentary aids should fail, but also to give him assurances of whatever number of forces he should judge requisite to render the monarchy absolute and uncontroll'd. To these she her self had added another argument to be propos'd, no less prevalent where it was to be apply'd than the former. For she had in her train one Mrs. Querouallе, of a family in Low-Britany, who, besides her French education and carriage, was young, and had pas'd in France for a great beauty. With such baits the monarch was easily taken, and for this tinsel ware was contented to barter the affections and good of the people, together with the quiet of almost all Europe. Puff'd up with this success the Dutchess returns to Paris, and found such a reception from the King as so great services seem'd to deserve. But her husband the Duke of Orleans, either upon suspicion of her too great familiarity with her brother, or of some other gallantry, to which she was not a little inclin'd, did not shew himself so well contented with her negotiation. However it was, she being at St. Cloud, a palace belonging to the Duke, few weeks after her return, having taken a glass of limonade, or other cooling liquor, was suddenly seized with such violent convulsions that she died at two of the clock the
June 30. next morning.

The death of the Dutchess of Orleans being signify'd to the King her brother, he at first seem'd to be highly dissatisfy'd with the conduct of her husband, and full of suspicion that she had been us'd in a manner not uncommon among princes. But having resolv'd that nothing should disturb the measures lately taken between the two Courts, he soon cool'd, and sent the Duke of Buckingham with the character of his ambassador to the Court of France, in appearance to condole with them for the death of the Dutchess, but indeed to confirm the late agreement made at Dover, and to concert the methods of pursuing their design. The Duke was received with all possible demonstrations of esteem and favour. The forces about Paris were exercis'd in his presence ; balls and comedies

were prepar'd to divert him ; the King gave him divers rich presents, and made a publick feast on the day of St. Louis principally on his account. Soon after his arrival, things began to proceed vigorously. A great sum of mony was sent into England ; the French army was order'd to break up, and to march towards the new conquests ; draught-horses were bought, and dispatch'd to them with all expedition, and no man doubted any longer either of the league between France and England, or of their intentions to employ their joint forces against the Commonwealth of Holland. The Dutch ambassador at Paris was so alarum'd with this news, that he went in great haste to Monsieur de Lyonne, and desir'd to be inform'd whether the French army were to be employ'd against his masters. But the Secretary assur'd him there was no ground for any such apprehensions, and that if those troops were us'd in an expedition, the storm would fall far enough from their territories. And accordingly the Mareschal de Crequi at the head of about twenty five thousand men enter'd Lorrain, seiz'd Nancy, and all the places that lay on his way, and was within half an hour of surprizing the Duke himself at Espinal. The French King pretended for the reason of this sudden invasion, that the Duke of Lorrain had, contrary to a late treaty, fortify'd some of his own towns, and had endeavour'd in a clandestin manner to be admitted into the Triple Alliance ; declaring that he intended not to retain the dutchy in his possession, but designed to put it into the hands of some other person of the Lorrain family who should be more worthy. In the mean time the Mareschal de Crequi having driven the Duke out of his territories, published an order, forbidding his subjects to yield him obedience ; commanding those who had been in arms for him, to quit his service, and to put themselves into that of the King, and requiring all orders of men in that country to do homage and swear allegiance to him, under pain of death and confiscation of estate.

1670

August.

The Duke of Lorrain being in this manner dispossess'd

1670 of his dutchy, without any preceeding declaration of war on the part of France, fill'd all Europe with his complaints, and dispatch'd a minister to the King of England to desire his good offices with the French King in this conjuncture, which he thought he had no reason to doubt, on account of the obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to serve him with his person and troops during the time of his exile. But instead of the favour expected, his minister received no other answer, than that he was sorry for what had happened, and that the present violence, like the mischiefs of a sudden inundation, must be endured at this time.

The Duke of Buckingham, after he had finished the business of his embassy and received many extraordinary favours and presents of great value from the King of France, return'd to England ; soon after which, in order to find new pretences of breaking with the Dutch, a message was sent to the English minister residing at the Hague to demand the surrender of Cornet Joyce, who having formerly by command of the army seized the late King at Holmby, where he was treating with the Parliaments Commissioners, had since the late revolution withdrawn himself from the fury of his enemies, and retired with his family to Roterdam. The pretext used by the Court of England to colour this demand was, that Joyce being told that a shot had been lately made at the King, answered, that tho' that had miss'd, another might prove more successful ; to which they added, that they had received information that he had actually engaged himself in a design against the present government in England. By this means they hoped it would come to pass, either that the States by refusing to deliver him according to an article of the late treaty, might justly be charged with breaking the peace ; or by surrendering his person, would totally disoblige the Commonwealth party, and make them less averse to the intended war. Pursuant to his instructions the Minister of
Aug. 1670 England makes his demand ; and the States perceiving the snare that was laid for them, immediately signed an order

to the magistrates of Roterdam for seizing the Cornet, and delivered it into his hands[1]; but so contrived the matter, that the officers who were appointed to take him in custody, walked so long before his door, that he had time to go out by a back way, and by that means made his escape. 1670

Our ancient and hearty friend Mr. Treasurer Steiger falling into a paralytical distemper, of which he soon after died, surrendred his employments into the hands of their Excellencies, and one Monsieur Velden was chosen to succeed him, who being well informed of the many favours we had received from his predecessor, assured us upon his first journey into our parts, that he would do us all the good offices that should be in his power, and would be as careful of our concernments as the late Treasurer had been. And here I may not omit, that one La Rue of Lyons, who had been engaged with Du Pre in his attempt to assassinate us, having some acquaintance with Monsieur du Four, a merchant of Geneva, wrote a letter to let him know that he had heartily repented of that action, and would be more ready to serve us for the future than he had been to take part in so base a design. He informed him also that the Irishman, who had pass'd under the name of Riardo, and was one of the principal instruments that were employed against us by the Dutchess of Orleans, had lately been at Lyons, and had told him, that if he had known how many well-wishers I had among the best of his friends, he would not have enter'd into any engagement against me; that he had quitted the service of the King of England on account of his ingratitude, and that he desired above all things to have my good opinion, and to keep a constant correspondence with me; that he had been with Mr. Richard Cromwell, where he had met with so good reception, that he had resolved never more to apply himself to the Court, and that he would serve the honest party in England with

[1] On the attempted arrest of Cornet, or rather Lieut.-Colonel Joyce, see Temple's Works, ed. 1754, vol. iii. 462, 465–472; Pontalis, Jean de Witt, ii. 35.

1670 the last drop of his blood; all which being communicated to me by Monsieur du Four, I concluded, that Riardo (if not La Rue also) designed, according to the best of his understanding, to act the devil's part, first to ensnare and then to accuse.

In the mean time Colonel Balthazar who had entertained this Riardo at his house whilst the design of our assassination was forming, and had received Roux also with the same familiarity, finding himself disappointed in the hopes he had conceived and openly published of our removal from Vevay, resolved to take new measures, and to employ artifices to persuade their Excellencies to withdraw their protection from us. To this end he went to Commissary-General Godart, who was a member of the Council of Bern, and pretending to have received letters from England, informed him, that the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy then in that court, had offered to the commissioners appointed to treat with him, that if the King of England would by his interest and other means, endeavour to procure the restitution of such places as were kept from him by the Canton of Bern, his master would undertake to deliver us dead or alive into his hands. The Commissary-General coming to Vevay by order of their Excellencies to terminate some matters in dispute between the Baron de Chasteler and his tenants, was pleased to give me an account of this business; and upon conference we agreed, that there was no probability of any such offers made, for many reasons, and particularly that the Duke had refused to countenance the design against us, when he had been sollicited by Riardo and others to that purpose; concluding it to be a contrivance of Balthazar to persuade the government that the favour extended to us might prove prejudicial to the publick safety. But he who had endeavoured to bring us into danger, could not without difficulty preserve himself. For the Court of France upon information that Roux, who had been executed at Paris, as I have already related, had left his papers in Balthazar's house, sent a party of between twenty or thirty horse

into the Pais de Gex, who hovering about that country 1670
for some time put him into so great a fright that he burnt the papers. He had at first slighted the report; but being informed by one Beauregard his wife's brother that some of them were the same who had assisted Monsieur Martel in seizing Roux, he made the best provision he could for his defence.

As the memory of those men whose lives have been remarkable for great and generous actions, ought to be transmitted to posterity with the praises they have deserved, that others may be excited to the imitation of their virtues: 'tis as just that the names of those who have render'd themselves detestable by the baseness of their crimes, should be recorded, that men may be deterr'd from treading in their steps, lest they draw upon themselves the same infamy. For this reason I think it necessary to insert in this place the true names of some of those assassins who were employ'd by the Court of England and others to take away our lives, as I received them from an English gentleman who was well acquainted with their affairs, and who having passed some time in Italy, made me a visit at Vevay in his return to England. He assured me that the villain who murder'd Mr. Lisle by shooting him into the back, is an Irish-man and named O'Croli; that the name of his companion, who waited with a fresh horse to carry him off, is Cotter, and that he is a native of the same country[1]; that the assassin who goes under the name of Riardo is also an Irish-man, and his true name MacCarty, who having murther'd one Colonel Dillon his country-man at Paris, had been punished with death, if the Queen-Mother of England had not interceeded for him and procured his pardon, for the good services he had already done, and others that he promised to do for the time to come. Which favour that he might farther merit, he went into Holland soon after he was discharged from prison, where he attempted to assassinate one Mr. Will. Carr, who having been a servant to the King, had taken the

[1] See pp. 370, 488.

1670 liberty to write some things that displeased the Court, and on that account had been obliged to retire from England [1].

1671 The King of France making great preparations for war, obtained a new levy of Switzers from the Cantons, and procured six thousand men to be raised in England to be imploy'd in his service. And that he might divide the strength of the Empire, and render them uncapable of assisting the Hollanders when he should think fit to attack them, he sent an agent into Hungary to foment the discontents of that people, who had been invaded in their privileges, and persecuted for religion by the influence of the Emperor's bigotted council. He caused his brother the Duke of Orleans to marry the daughter of the Elector Palatine, and on that account made many large promises to that prince which were never performed. He tamper'd with divers other princes of Germany; and knowing that the Elector of Cologn had a design to seize and subvert the rights and privileges of that city, he tempted him with offers of his assistance [2]. The Court of England on their part recalled Sir William Temple from his employment in Holland, suspecting him not to favour the French interest, but rather to be zealously inclined to maintain the Triple Alliance which they were resolved to break, and sent Downing to supply his place, who was a much fitter

Dec. instrument to carry on the designs they had on foot. And since my subject has led me to speak of this gentleman, I must here acknowledge, that tho' Downing had acted contrary to his faith, former pretences and obligations, in betraying our friends as I mentioned before; yet none of those who remained in Holland, or afterwards retired thither, were ever molested during his ministry, which was as much as could reasonably be expected from a person in his post. To this was added an attempt, which for the

[1] Probably William Carr whose petition against Lord Gerrard, and consequent severe punishment by the House of Lords, is related by Pepys, Diary, Dec. 16, 19, 23, 1667; Feb. 7, 1668; 8th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 115; Cal. S. P., Dom.

[2] See Rousset, Louvois, i. 336, 342-6; Pontalis, Jean de Witt, ii. 169.

singularity of the thing deserves to be remember'd. For upon notice that a considerable number of Dutch men of war were riding in the Channel, the King to procure by any means some pretences for the intended war, gave orders to the commander of a yacht to pass through the fleet, and to oblige the admiral to take down his flag. The captain, pursuant to his instructions sets sail with his yacht, and encountring the whole Dutch fleet, who would not be brought to take down the flag, falls upon them, and fired on all sides till his powder and ball was quite spent. But the Dutch well understanding the design of this insult, chose rather to suffer patiently the tearing of their tackle, than to return one shot [1]. Thus they endeavoured by all means to keep fair weather with their neighbours: and that they might prevent the city of Cologn from falling into the hands of those who might make use of it to their prejudice, they treated with the magistrates of that place, and finding them disposed to receive their assistance, they sent them a regiment of foot commanded by Colonel Bampfield [2]. 1671 Aug. $\frac{14}{24}$.

The Canton of Bern having raised two thousand four hundred men for the service of the King of France in twelve companies, proceeded to nominate the officers that were to command ten of them, leaving to that King the nomination of officers for the other two, according to the agreement made between them. They stipulated in their treaty, that none of their forces should be employ'd against any people of the Reformed religion; which condition was readily accepted by the King of France, who knew that if he should break with the King of Spain

[1] See Pontalis, Jean de Witt, ii. 134, and Sir W. Temple's letter to his father, Sept 14, 1671. Lady Temple was on board the yacht at the time, returning from Holland.

[2] Joseph Bampfield, once a Royalist soldier, in 1648 contrived and conducted the escape of the Duke of York to the continent. During the Protectorate he was one of Thurloe's spies. At the Restoration he was for a time imprisoned in the Tower, but was discharged July 30, 1660, and allowed to go abroad. He contrived to obtain a command in Holland. His biographical 'Apology,' published at the Hague in 1685, is a book of the utmost rarity, and deserves reprinting.

1672 or the Emperor, he might use the Protestant Switzers against them, whilst those that were furnished by the Popish Cantons should be employ'd against the Dutch. This contract with France was made without consulting the other Cantons, and at a lower rate than had been settled by the last treaty with that Crown; on which last account chiefly some members of this union shewed themselves much disgusted. But upon the whole matter, tho' I have heard many arguments brought to justify the way used by the Switzers for keeping their people continually exercised to arms, yet it were to be wish'd, that some means might be found to cause this traffick to cease, and to persuade those who have authority, to examine the justice of every cause in which they engage, and not to suffer their subjects to make a trade of war. The King of France was much displeased with the government of Zurich for refusing to permit any levies of men to be made among them at this time; but he sent letters of thanks to those of Bern for their ready compliance with his demands, confirming what had been promised on his part, and offering (as they had desired) his mediation to compose the differences between them and the Bishop of Basle, with assurances of his assistance to constrain the Bishop to accept reasonable conditions. He promised to maintain them in possession of the Pais de Veaux, and to pay all the arrears of pensions that should appear to be due to any of them.

In the mean time the Dutch with the utmost diligence prepare to send out their fleet[1]. They nominated Michael Adrian de Ruyter to be their Admiral, and the Heer Cornelius de Wit to be Commissioner for the States at sea, allowing a guard of twelve halberdiers to attend his person. They hoped to prevent the conjunction of the English and French fleets, but could not: for the English having notice that the Count D'Estrées, who commanded the French, was arrived with his ships at the Isle of Wight,

[1] The last of Ludlow's letters in the Archives of Bern is dated Jan. 25, 1672, and describes the preparations of Charles II for the Dutch War (p. 507).

found means to join them in that road, yet not without 1672
the loss of one of their frigats which carried thirty eight guns, and was taken by the Zelandia almost without resistance, the seamen being generally unwilling to be employ'd in this war. On the seventh of June 1672, the two fleets engaged near Solebay, the French squadron against Admiral Bankart; the English Blue squadron, commanded by the Earl of Sandwich, against the Heer Van Ghent Admiral of Amsterdam; and the Red squadron, commanded by the Duke of York, against the Dutch Admiral de Ruyter. The fight was bloody, and continued from eight in the morning to sun-set. The French behaved themselves as if they desired to be spectators rather than actors in this tragedy. The Duke of York was obliged to shift his ship, either because she was disabled, or the better to provide for his own safety. But the greatest loss fell upon the Blue squadron, the Admiral of which was burnt by a Dutch fireship, the Earl of Sandwich drown'd, many voluntiers and officers killed, with a great number of private seamen. On the Dutch side, the Admiral of Amsterdam, the Vice-Admiral of Zealand, and Captain Brakel were kill'd. Three of De Wit's guards were shot by his side, and a fourth lost both his legs by a cannon ball. After this fight the French set sail for Brest and the English retired into port, leaving the Dutch masters at sea for that time.

The States of Holland well knowing that the alliance between the English Court and the King of France was not at all pleasing to the people of England, published a declaration, to shew that they had been constrained to make war against the King and his private council, who had designed and endeavoured to deprive them of their commerce and liberty, and to render the Crown of England absolute and independent; but that they were ready to consent that the people of England might trade freely either with them or others. They discharged and set at liberty such ships, men and merchandize belonging to the English nation, as they had seized in their ports in requital

1672 of the attempt made by the Court of England to surprize
March 14. their homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, before any declaration of war had been published against them. These things obliged the King to promise restitution of what had been unjustly taken from the Dutch before the date of the said declaration. But whatever advantages the Dutch might have by sea, they were infinitely over-balanced by their losses at land.

The King of France having drawn together one hundred and twenty thousand effective men, divided them into three bodies: the first, consisting of seventy thousand, he took under his own peculiar command. At the head of the second, which was of forty thousand, he placed the Prince of Condé; and gave about ten thousand men more to the Count of Chamilly to serve as a flying camp. All these forces directing their march towards Mastricht, a council of war was held in the King's quarters, and a debate arising about besieging that place, it was adjudged to be an enterprize so full of hazard and difficulty, by reason of the numerous garrison and good fortifications about the town, that they resolved to turn their march towards the Rhine, where the places were not in so good condition. Yet it was thought convenient to leave Chamilly near Tongeren to prevent the excursions of the garrison of Mastricht, which was done. The two armies commanded by the King and Prince of Condé marched several days without seeing an enemy, except only about two hundred men who had intrenched themselves on the side of the Rhine, and rendred themselves prisoners after little resistance. From thence the prince of Condé was sent to besiege Wesel, whilst the King besieged Orsoy, and the Mareschal Turenne Burick. These three sieges being undertaken at the same time caused a general alarum. But when they saw that
June 3. Orsoy had hardly held out twenty four hours, and that
June 4. Burick and Wesel had been surrendred in little more than
June 5. the same time, the consternation greatly increased. The governor of Wesel, which was accounted a strong place, was sentenced to lose his head; but having some friends

about the Prince of Orange, the executioner was order'd only to pass the sword over him. The Count Destrades was, in consideration of his services and particular correspondencies in Holland, made governor of this place. Reez, Emerik, Beavize and Dedekom follow'd the example; and an Irish-man who commanded at Rhijnberg, finding himself besieg'd by the King of France, was so frighted, that he delivered the town without a shot; and was afterwards beheaded for his cowardice. The King designing to pass the Yssel, in order to attack the places on the other side of that river, communicated his design to the Prince of Condé and to the Mareschal de Turenne, who having dissuaded him from the attempt as too dangerous, it was resolved to try to pass the Rhine, which they thought more practicable. In pursuance of this resolution, they procured the best advice they could get, and were informed by a betrayer of his country, that there was a place where the water was low and the passage safe: which being tried and found to be according to the information, the King expressed more than ordinary satisfaction, because he could as well enter the country that way as by the Yssel, and fall upon the enemies rear. The Dutch suspecting this place, had already sent an officer to secure the passage; but he finding himself too weak, abandoned the post with the approbation of the States deputies; and Lieutenant-General Wurtz was sent by the Prince of Orange with a greater force. By this means much time was lost, and the King of France had leisure to erect batteries, which gall'd the horse of Wurtz in such a manner, that they found themselves obliged to shelter in the woods. All things being prepared by the French, part of a regiment of horse passed the river, and were received so warmly by Wurtz, that they were forced back into the water: but being seconded by more of their companions, they soon became strong enough to make good their ground, and to put the Dutch horse to flight. However in this passage the Duke of Longueville nephew to the Prince of Condé was killed, and the Prince himself wounded in the wrist by a musket-ball. After this the

1672

June 6.

June 12.

1672 French took the castle of Tolhuys, and laid a bridge of boats over the Rhine; which so terrified the Dutch, that they abandoned all their intrenchments: so that the King, who had designed to attack them, finding that work over, repassed the river, and sent the Mareschal Turenne to command the Prince of Condé's army during his absence. Then the King resolved to pass the Yssel, and was not a little surprized to find the passage so easy, and
June 21. quite otherwise than had been represented to him. Having besieg'd and taken Doesburg, deputies arrived in his camp from Utrecht, offering to deliver the town and dependencies.
June 25. The Duke of Orleans took Zutphen in Gelderland; and the King himself advanced to Utrecht, having sent a Lieutenant-General with some troops to take possession before. Here he received the Dutch ambassadors who were sent by the States to know upon what terms he would treat. In
June 16. the mean time the Mareschal Turenne possessed himself of Arnheim, the fort of Knotsemburg and Nimeguen; which last place was better defended than any other had been. Upon this news the Dutch abandoned Graven, which
June 19. Turenne siezed. Bommel and the Sckincken Scans fell
June. also into the hands of the French: the bishop of Munster
June 22. took Grol and Deventer: and the Marquis de Rochefort made himself master of Naerden and some other places.

This astonishing success attending the French in every attempt, drove the common people of Holland into rage and despair. Disasters came so thick upon them, that they could not discern the inequality of their forces when compared to the united strength of France and England. They would not reflect upon the natural impetuosity of the French nation, or the suddenness of the invasion: but in spite of common sense would needs believe that men of republican principles had conspired to betray the Commonwealth to one or both of the confederated monarchs. And tho' I am not concerned to defend those who at that time had the principal part in the administration of affairs in Holland; yet the King of England himself shall be their compurgator, not only on his own account, but also in

respect of his brother of France. His words are these: 1672
'The insolencies, and continual contrivances against me, of certain persons, who for some time past have had the principal direction of affairs in the government of the United Netherlands, have necessitated me to make an alliance with the most Christian King, who also has the same grounds of complaint against them, having no other end, than to suppress the insupportable greatness of the Louvestein faction; and to secure our selves from the like insults and affronts for the time to come[1],' &c. But the people being deaf to all reason, things every where tended to sedition and tumult; divers of the clergy, particularly one Lantman at the Hague, and Borstius at Roterdam, exciting the populace both by printing and preaching, against their governors. In this unhappy state of affairs it fell out, that on the 20th of June 1672, the Pensionary John de Wit coming out of the Council in the Hague at eleven a clock at night, accompanied only by one servant who carried a torch in his hand, was assaulted by four persons, wounded, and left for dead. The next day one of these assassins by name Jacob Vander Graef was seized, tried, condemn'd, and in a few days executed, the States of Holland judging this expedition to be absolutely necessary for the security of their own persons in the exercise of their employments. On the 24th of July in the same year Cornelius de Wit, ancient Burger-master of Dort, Grand Baily of Putten, and elder brother to the Pensionary, was brought prisoner to the Hague, upon the accusation of one Tichelaar a barber-surgeon, who deposed, that the prisoner would have hired him to poyson the Prince of Orange. He was several times put to the rack, and constantly asserted his innocence. Yet he was sentenced to lose his Aug. 20.
offices and dignities, and to be banished for ever from Holland and West-Friesland. This sentence being pub-

[1] Letter of Charles II to the Prince of Orange, July 19, 1672. See Pontalis, Jean de Witt, ii. 440, 464. The letter is printed at length in the Netherland Historian (a translation from the Dutch), 1675, p. 64. It is there dated July 28.

1672 lished, caused men to murmur, as their passions variously inclined them. Some said that if he were guilty, the punishment was too little; and if innocent, too much. Others said that he was certainly guilty, because his judges had set the accuser at liberty. Tichelaar in the mean time went about the Hague, and told the people that he had convicted the Grand Baily; which suggestion brought great numbers of them about the prison-doors. In the mean time his brother John de Wit came in his coach to take him out of the prison, upon which one of the populace cried out, 'That now the two traytors were together, they should not escape.' In this instant a false report was spread among the people, that some thousands of boors were coming to plunder the Hague, by which means the two brothers were deprived of all hopes of safety. For upon this report, the guards that had been placed by the Council of State about the prison for the defence of the prisoner, took occasion to draw off, and left them to the mercy of the rabble; who growing impatient of any farther delay, immediately broke open the doors of the prison, and divers of them rushed into the chamber where the two brothers were. John de Wit, who was sitting on the bed-side with a book in his hand, demanded of them what they would have; and receiving for answer, that they should see if they would go down, he took his brother by the hand and led him down to the street; where they were no sooner arrived, but the enraged multitude fell upon them, and with a thousand wounds most barbarously murder'd them. The particulars of this cruelty are so abominable and so exceeding all example, that I purposely omit any farther mention of this tragical story.

The King of France in pursuance of the agreement he had made with the Canton of Bern, procured the differences between them and the Bishop of Basle to be adjusted according to their Excellencies desire. But that part of the treaty by which he had promised not to employ their subjects against any of the Reformed religion was not so well observed; for he had used them in the war against the

States of Holland, and obliged them to serve on all occasions 1672
without distinction, contrary to his promise, and to the oath that both officers and soldiers had taken before their departure from Switzerland[1]. This usage the Swiss officers and soldiers resenting, deputed one Monsieur de Beur an officer of their body to acquaint their Excellencies, that they had been constrained against their inclinations to do what they had done. Of which the French having notice, they caused him to be seized at Metz, where he was put into a dungeon. And tho' upon the sollicitation of his friends in Switzerland, their Excellencies desired his liberty, they could not for some time obtain any more than a better accommodation for him in the prison; the late successes of France having carried that Court to such a height, that they caused a letter to be written by Monsieur Stuppa to the Canton of Bern, to let them know, that the King accounted himself little obliged to them for the men they had raised under pretence of serving him; and that he was better satisfied with the refusal of the Canton of Zurich, than with their grant which was accompanied with such restrictions and regret. The government of Bern finding their affairs with France to be in this uncertain condition, were doubtful what measures to take in the dispute which had been on foot for some time, and still continued between the Duke of Savoy and those of Geneva, on account of a fort which had been built by the Duke within half a league of that city, under colour of a magazine for the vessels he had built, and to secure a port for their use[2]; positively requiring all those of Geneva who possessed lands within the jurisdiction of Savoy, to hear mass on pain of forfeiture. However, the Protestant Cantons having seriously considered the importance of this affair, sent to the Duke of Savoy to demand, whether he would have peace or war, and whether

[1] On the attempted opposition of some of the Swiss regiments see Vulliemin, Histoire de la Confédération Suisse, ii. 200.

[2] 'The fort was at Bellerive. For an account of this dispute between Charles Emmanuel VII and Geneva see Spon, Histoire de Genève, ed. 1682, ii. 254–264. The dispute began in 1667.

1672 he would in all things make good the treaties that had been concluded with them by his ancestors, or not. But before the Duke had determined what answer to give to this message, an accident happen'd which served to secure those of Geneva from any apprehensions from Savoy at that time. For the Duke of Savoy having corrupted the governor of Savona (which belongs to the Republick of Genoa) and received his promise to put him into possession of the place, had raised forces, and order'd them to march thither. But the officers not agreeing, either concerning the manner, or the time of putting the enterprize in execution, it was so long delay'd that the government of Genoa had notice of their march; and suspecting their design, immediately removed the governor and changed the garrison. The Duke finding his project defeated, was yet unwilling to have it believed that he designed any clandestin attempt, (for no sort of men will avow an unsuccessful treachery) and therefore he published a declaration of the reasons that moved him to make war against Genoa; which were so slight and trivial, that it plainly appeared he rather sought to cover his design upon Savona, than that he had any just cause of quarrel to pretend, it being notorious to all persons concern'd, that the Duke had receiv'd offers of satisfaction to the utmost of what he could demand [1]. In consequence of the declaration his forces possess'd themselves of Pieve, a place belonging to the Genoeses, but of no great strength or importance. On the other side, the government of Genoa sent to complain to the King of France, that contrary to the agreement, which he by his agent had made between the Duke of Savoy and them, the Duke's forces had attacked them in a hostile manner; but yet they omitted not, at the same time, to draw together what force they could to do

[1] The Duke of Savoy's attack on Genoa was instigated by Rafaello della Torre, an exiled Genoese. The discovery of the plot frustrated the attempt against Savona. The defeat of Castelvecchio, Aug. 15, 1672, was followed by a peace between Genoa and Savoy, signed at St. Germains Jan. 18, 1673. Genoa, by J. T. Bent, 1881, p. 353; Gallenga, History of Piedmont, 1855, iii. 99.

themselves right, if other means should fail. The Duke's army finding Pieve not to be tenable, quitted the place and marched to Castelvecchio, with intention to fortify it by reason of its advantagious situation. But the Genoeses well knowing the importance of Castelvecchio, drew together about nine thousand men and seized all the avenues, before the Savoyards had made any provision for their subsistence. So that the governor with about three hundred officers and soldiers found no other way to prevent falling into the hands of the enemy but by withdrawing privately, which they effected, leaving the rest to shift for themselves, and the next day the Genoeses possessed themselves of the place, killing and taking prisoners all those that were within. From thence they went to Oneglia, resolving to storm the town by sea and land; but the Savoyards prevented them, and capitulated to leave both officers and soldiers to be prisoners of war. In these actions the Marquis of Parella with many of the principal nobility were taken and carried prisoners to Genoa: which, with some other successes obtained by that Commonwealth against the Duke of Savoy, obliged him to entertain cooler thoughts than he had done, and to hasten his answer to the demands of the Protestant Cantons; in which he professed, he would have no difference with them, being sincerely desirous of their friendship; that, indeed, he had been much surprised they should take any umbrage on account of a house he had built in his own territories, and interest themselves in the differences which had happened between him and those of Geneva, who, he said, had broken the treaty of St. Julian[1], which yet for their Excellencies sake, he would observe, as if it were still in full force. 1672

[1] The treaty of St. Julian took place July 21, 1603, and put an end to the war between Geneva and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy. It followed the unsuccessful 'Escalade' on Dec. 21, 1602. The Duke recognised that Geneva was included in the treaty of Vervins, and promised to build no fortress and maintain no troops within four leagues of the frontiers of Geneva.

APPENDICES.

I. Colonel Nicholas Kempson.

II. Ludlow's Command in Ireland.

III. The Articles against Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow.

IV. A Sober Vindication of Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow.

V. The Election for Hindon. April, 1660.

VI. Letters of the English Exiles in Switzerland.

VII. Ludlow's Visit to England in 1689.

VIII. Epitaphs from Vevay.

IX. On the Site of Ludlow's House at Vevay.

APPENDIX I.

COLONEL NICHOLAS KEMPSON.

Ludlow's brother-in-law, Colonel Nicholas Kempson, or Kempston, was probably a descendant of the family of that name whose pedigree is recorded in the Visitation of Warwickshire in 1619 (edited by J. Fetherston, 1877, for the Harleian Society, p. 411).

His services during the civil war I have not succeeded in tracing. In 1645 he was Lieut.-Col. of Col. Robert Lilburne's regiment of foot, and was one of the officers who volunteered for Ireland in May 1647 (Rushworth, vi. 460, 463, 466; Lords Journals, ix. 114, 155, 220; Clarke Papers, i. 13; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1645–7, pp. 547, 575). Losing his commission in consequence he petitioned Parliament on July 23, 1647, for leave to 'transport himself beyond the seas, where he has formerly served, with such of his soldiers as are willing to go with him.' Fairfax gave him a certificate, that upon all services against the enemy he had behaved himself faithfully and valiantly, and on March 8, 1648, he was licensed to transport 300 men to serve in France (6th Rep. Hist. Mss. Comm. i. 189; Cal. S. P., Dom., 1648–9, pp. 20, 27, 45). In 1659 Ludlow proposed Kempson as Major of his regiment of horse, and the nomination appears to have been accepted (Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659–60, p. 13). After the Restoration Kempson, as being Ludlow's brother-in-law, was always exposed to suspicion, and in May, 1663, he was accused of a share in Col. Alexander Jephson's plot for seizing Dublin Castle (Carte's

App. I. Ormond, iv. 134). He had been previously arrested in Nov. 1662 (Kennet's Register, p. 827).

Lodge, in his Peerage of Ireland, ii. 189, ed. 1754, states that Grace, daughter of Thomas Maule, Surveyor-general of Customs in Ireland, married Col. Nicholas Kempston of the county of Cavan, who died 27 Nov. 1676. Kempson was to some extent a protector of the Quakers, a colony of whom settled in 1565 on his land in Cavan. 'There was one Col. Kempston, who was convinced of truth, though he did not join with Friends. He had a great deal of land in the county of Cavan, and other places, and was desirous to have Friends live on his land, promising to build a meeting-house, and do great matters to promote truth; so my brother and I rode to his house in the county of Cavan, and treated with him about taking several parcels of land for ourselves and several other families of Friends that would live near us; but for some time we could not close a bargain with him, for he was a hard man. After a while the Lord's power filled my heart; then I was moved in the word of Life, to tell him, 'I would take his land, let him take what he would for it, and make his own terms'; at which he was amazed: so pausing a little desired half-an-hour to consider; he walked into his orchard, and in a little time returned to us, and closed a bargain with us for the land on such easy terms, as we could not have brought him to by arguments; whereupon several families of Friends came with us and settled upon his land.' This was in 1655, but some years later Kempson not confirming the leases promised originally the colony broke up, and after the Restoration Cosby, the former owner, recovered most of the land the Quakers held from Kempston, and the colony came entirely to an end. Journal of William Edmundson, 1715, pp. 25, 32, 35.

A letter from Mrs. Kempson to Ludlow has found its way into the Domestic State Papers.

'My Deare Brother,

'I writ to you the last post, & sence by one M. Jackman whoe was formerly a trouper under you & continuus the same trade stell. I beleeve he entends to speek to you about Lathens towne for M^r^ Lambard; which is yet in the lest to be set forth for part of yo^r^: lott: but how long it may contenuu in it we know not, for

ther is dayly changes in it, plammers town & some other towns [?] is this week put out: & many delays & put offs are mad: soe that to this day we cannot get out the order for posistion of it, & what they will doe at last we know not: but desiere that you & we may prepar for the worst & labour after resinged up hearts to the will of our wise & loueing father & quietly rest in that when we have done our endeavor, & if it shall pleas him to bless you with a settellment in it, it will be a rich mercy, & I hop he will allsoe give a heart to emproue it for the best: & when it is soe I & some other of yo^{r}: friends heer doe very well aproue of yo^{r} proposalls: that you mentioned in yo^{r} Letter: dat: fivt of this enstant, & in order ther onto shall mak proposall to any that shall be willing to deall for it: but, tell a full settellment be, we doe & you may answeer all that doe speek to you of it: that nothing can be treated nor noe promises mad to any: tell all be fully settelled, it is happy for thos that have any thing to doe in this world: if they have obtained that mercy of pattience, for endeed they shall find a great need of it espisiall in this agg: the lord grant it to us: Land is grown very cheep now: the reason is thought to be becaus of soe many clams that are granted, men begen to grow weary of the trouble of it & many great taxces apon it though they can mak nothing: I hop all will mend in time: for trully it is very bad now: the earll of Tomond shall be aquanted with what you desire: my husband is willing to let Will coll hav the graseng of his stock whill he have any land in his own hands, which I fear will be too long: I am much troubled to heer of my dear mothers weaknes & present distemper: I douut not of yo^{r} car of her: I wish you could perswad her to take docter Godards medson: pray present my humbll dutty to her & my dear loue to my sister & yo^{r} selfe from

'Eliza Kemp[son].'

[Endorsed:—] 'These
To her Dear Brother Left Gennerell Ludlow at Dorchester houss near the Aby in Westmester, London, England, present.

'*June* 9, 1658.'

APPENDIX II.

LETTERS ILLUSTRATING LUDLOW'S COMMAND IN IRELAND (June 1659–Jan. 1660).

App. II. Ludlow's official correspondence during his brief command in Ireland—from June 1659 to January 1660—has not been preserved. The following letters have been collected from the various sources indicated in the notes appended to the letters.

I.

[*Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow and Col. Jones to the Speaker.*]

'Sir,

'Wee acknowledg it a duty incumbent upon us to putt a high esteeme upon the favours wee have received from the Parliament, especially in their dispenceing with their other greate affaires to dispatch those particulars which were of concernement to your interest in Ireland. There is one particular which concernes Ireland yet unfinished, and is of immediate use for the settling of the minds of the people there. You may please to take notice that all the lands in Ireland in the dispose of the Commonwealth were sett out and disposed of to adventurers, souldiers, and others since your interruption, and many thousand familys have layd out their stocks in building upon and improveing their respective holdings; but you haveing declared that power to be null and voyd, the English inhabitants know not what to trust to, and many are ready to returne to their native countrey, and this discouragement will inevitably destroy the plantacion and weaken your interest there; the consideracion whereof ledd the Parliament to order the Councel of State to prepare an Act to prevent that inconvenience, and to settle the possessions of such as on good and valueable consideracion have had lands sett out unto them, which Act was brought in from the Councel, read twice and committed. And the Committee have (after heareing what could be offered by the adventurers for their just advantage) agreed amendments, and ordered them to be reported

by Mr. Garland. Wee humbly conceive this Act to be of immediate concernement to passe, and that it willbe very much for your service that it be sent over with all possible speed, which wee humbly submitt to the wisdome of the Parliament, and rest, App. II.

'Your most humble servants,

'EDM. LUDLOWE, JO. JONES[1].

'ST. ALBONS,
y^e^ 19th of July, 1659.'

[Endorsed :—] 'July 19, 1659.'

II.

[*Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow to the Speaker.*]

'MR SPEAKER,

'Whilest you were contesting for your being, I looked upon it as presumption to interrupt your councels with anything of a less importance, and that had not a necessary tendency to your safety; judging it my duty rather to employ my talent in the sphere wherein you had placed mee, and to communicate what was necessary to your ministers the Councell of State, leaving your Commissioners to present you with an account of your affayres here as oft as there was occasion, which I know they were not wanting in. But seeing the Lord, according to his wonted goodness, hath once more appeared to own your counsels and forces, and assureing my selfe that it is upon your hearts to own him, and those who own him and you; I make bold to lay before you the condition of Major Bolton, Major Rawlins, and those other officers and soldiers who about a month since embarqued in the Sea Flower of Liverpoole, in their passage for England, as part of that number which was commanded hence for your service. All the other vessels came seasonably to shore; this was only missing. Wee were willing (whilest we had the least grounds) to hope that she might have been blown to the northward of her intended port, but hearing no news of her, wee now conclude that she foundered in the sea. A list of those belonging to this Army, who were imbarqued in that vessel, I have sent here inclosed, with an account of their quallity, which of them had wives, and how many children each had. The quarter-master was formerly dismissed from the like employment in the Life-guard for refusing to address the late Single Person: the lieutenant, cornet, and chirurgeon, and the troopers in generall I hear well of: but for the two majors they are generally reputed to have been godly: I knew them to be good men, able, diligent, and valiant soldiers, and faithful servants of yours. It would be an act agreeable to your wonted bounty, if, as a mark of your favour and satisfaction of their arrears, you would conferr upon their wives, children and relations a proportion of land in Ireland

[1] From the Tanner MSS. vol. li. p. 93.

App. II. now forfeited to the Commonwealth by some engaged in the late rebellion with Sir George Booth; I humbly submit the whole to your better judgment.

I farther think it my duty to lay before you, that your Army here is fourteen months in arrears, and that the warrants for their present pay are according to musters taken so long since, by reason whereof you pay money for those who many of them are dead and gone, and those who are to doe you present service many of them have nothing to live upon, nor like to have, if this rule be observed, for fourteen months to come.—The officers whom you have laid aside will have the hardship on the other hand; and these who stand and are concerned therein, further alledge, that though many are dead and gone who past on those musters, yet they stand engaged for several summs of money both for their dyet and cloathing; for the accomodating of all which, by the consent of your Commissioners and Council of Officers, it's for the present resolved, that one month's pay be issued upon the old musters, and another upon the new. It's the humble opinion of your servants here, that it would be more for your profit, and render the army in a much better capacity to doe you service, were the pay issued according to the present musters; which I find the officers free unto, had they but your promise that they should be satisfied their arrears due upon those other musters, either out of Church or Crown Lands, or such other lands as are in your dispose in Ireland, or by such other ways and meanes as you shall think fitt.

I have already presumed too far, but the earnest desire of such as are joyned in church-fellowship with Mr. Winter, and many other Christians in this place, together with the knowledge I have of his usefulness here, makes me become a suppliant to you, that if it may stand with your good liking, his coming over by virtue of your order may be dispensed withall. He desires to be where he may be most serviceable, and where the Lord calls him. The hearts of his people here seem to be towards him. However, if you judge his coming to be for publick service, I trust we shall be willing to resign him and our selves to your dispose. I hope shortly to wait on you; in the mean time shall endeavour to approve myselfe, Mr. Speaker,

'Your faithfull, and most
'Humble servant,
'Edm. Ludlowe[1].

'Dublin,
the 14th of *September*, 1659.

'These to the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq.; Speaker of the Parliament, Present.'

[1] Printed in Grey's Examination of Neal's History of the Puritans, iv. 99.

III.

[*Major-Gen. Monck to Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow.*]

'Right Honourable,

'Being appointed with your self and others as Commissioners to govern the Army by an Act of Parliament of the 11th instant, I have thought it my duty to lett you know, that haveing force put upon the Parliament by a part of the Army, that I am resolved to assert their lawfull authority, and will defend their rights, lawes and libertyes of the people of the Commonwealth way, according to my duty, engagement, and commission, and I expect your assistance and councell for the governing of this affaire. Therefore I intreate you let mee know whether you will joyne with mee in this just cause, which God hath soe gloriously owned, against all arbitrary power. I expect your answer, and resolve with my Army, which is very unanimous for the Parliament, to prosecute this business against ambition and tyranny to the last dropps of my blood till they bee restored[1].

[George Monck].

'Edinburgh,
20 *October* 1659.'

The like to M. G. Overton.

IV.

[*A letter from Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow, to Sir Hardress Waller, and the officers about Dublin.*]

'Gentlemen,

'The nation of Ireland, through the blessing of the Lord upon the endeavour of his poor instruments, being put in a posture of serviceableness unto the publique interest, the General Council of Officers having unanimously and freely in the humble Petition and Address which they put into my hand to present to the Parliament, declared their resolution to adhere to them in the prosecution of those good things therein expressed; which when done, and for the further settlement of what yet remained, upon the advice and desire of the said General Council, I repaired into England, where I was no sooner come to the shore, but I met with the most unwelcome news of a second interruption being given to the Parliament: a thing which I feared before I came from Ireland, and to prevent which, was one great end of my return. The Lord having brought me thus far on my journey, and observing in the letter that was sent me from the Council of Officers then sitting at Wallingford house, to be communicated to the Officers in Ireland, that there was only a stop put to the sitting of the Parliament for the present, I looked upon that as a door of hope, for to encourage me to hold on my journey, in order to the endeavouring

[1] Clarke MSS. xxxii. 44, from a very faulty draft.

App. II. of a reconciliation between those old friends and fellow labourers in the work of the Lord; who when united, had been a terrour to their enemies, a countenance and encouragement to their friends; but when divided, had not been so. And as formerly, so now the Lord did darken counsel from the Army, till they returned to their proper station, which once more they have done; and on Wednesday was a sevenight, resolved to invite them to the exercise of their authority; and Sir Arthur Hesilrig, with several other Members, came to London the last Saturday, in order to their sitting the Monday following, which I doubt not but they did accordingly. The Army about London having rendeyvouzed in Lincoln's Inn fields, marched on this day sevenight through Chancery-lane by the Rolls to the Speakers house, where he and several Members stood to receive them, and with great acclamations the souldiers called upon them to return to the exercise of their authority. I should have stayed to have seen the compleating of this mercy, but that immediately after the resolving of it, I met with a Declaration subscribed by your selves and several other gentlemen, for the restitution of this Parliament; which having contributed towards whilst I was there, looking upon it as the only probable means to secure our cause from being overcome by the common enemy, I now looked upon it as my duty to repair to you, for the strengthening your hands in so good a work; which my call from God and man leads me to, and which (the Lord assisting me) I resolve to prosecute to the utmost hazard, against all opposition. I left London so suddenly after I had an intimation of this, that I missed of the accompt, which I presume I should otherwise have had from you of this affair, and therefore have sent Mr. Alden with this unto you, who will also give you a farther account of affairs, and to desire of you that I may hear from you how things are with you: I doubt not but the Parl. will very kindly accept of this your timely and seasonable declaring for their restitution, and that it may be remembred to your advantage, shall be the endeavour of

'Your affectionate and humble servant,

'EDM. LUDLOW[1].

'*From on Board the* OXFORD FRIGOT, *Dec.* 31, 1659.'

V.

[*The Answer of Sir Hardress Waller, and the rest of the Officers at Dublin, to the fore-going Letter.*]

'SIR,

'We received your letter by Mr. Alden, and do heartily rejoyce at that most welcome newes of the Parliaments restauration to the exercise of their authority, which is the cause, we are, and have been engaged in; and as to what concerns your selfe, we having had just

[1] Printed in Mercurius Publicus, Jan. 26–Feb. 2, 1660.

grounds to believe you have not discharged your duty and trust to the Parliament, have already sent an accompt thereof to the chief authority we then knew in being, derived from them, and are now immediately preparing to send some of our number to assure them of our duties and obedience to them, as also to receive their pleasure concerning you; which when signified to us, we shall God willing immediately, chearfully, and readily obey it, in any thing that concern you or our selves, and shall have fully answered our intentions in preserving this Army for the Parliament, and resigning it into what ever hands they shall appoint to receive it. In the mean time to satisfie you in our resolutions, we have sent you the inclosed votes, whereby you will perceive how unacceptable your coming amongst us will prove, until we have received the Parliaments commands concerning you; which again we acquaint you, what ever they be, shall be forthwith obeyed; and this we hope you will in no doubt of; for since we have declared and engaged against all those that have refused obedience to the authority of Parliament, we shall never, through the mercy of God, be guilty of that fault ourselves, which we so much detest in all others, and for which be pleased to take the assurance of

'Your humble Servants [1].' App. II.

VI.

[*A Letter from Sr. Hardress Waller and several other Gentlemen at Dublin, to Lieutenant General Ludlowe.*]

'Sir,

'We have received a letter from L[t]. Collonel Puckle, Governour at Ross, and in it, one from you, to him, dated at Duncannon; wherein you require him to preserve his garrison for the Parliament. He had done that before he had any orders from you to do it. We wish you had rather sent orders of that nature to your substitute, Collonel Jones, when he so long and so openly acted against the Parliamentary authority, than to Lieutenant Collonel Puckle, who you could not but know, had together with us declared for it. When you were in this bay, you received an assurance under all our hands that we had declared (as in duty bound) for the Parliament; whose commands both concerning you and our selves, we would chearfully and punctually obey: but you write to Lieutenant Collonel Puckle, that we had set up for our selves. We will not say, that you have set up for your self, though your staying, if not acting amongst those who had set up for themselves at London; your never declaring for the Parliament, when most of the Army here had declared against them; your posting from the Parliament, when you your self write, they were to sit within a day or two; and your now casting your self

[1] Mercurius Publicus does not give the signatures.

App. II. into the only place in this nation, which hath not, together with us, declared for the Parliament; might, we say, give us a juster rise to believe you had set up for your self, than our actings or letters have given you cause so untruly to report of us. If you have assumed that belief concerning us, because of our not admitting you here, we hope, whatever you your self are pleased to believe, all unbyassed persons will with us, judge, it was not consistent with our duty, to admit to the command of the Parliaments Army here (till their pleasure was signified) a person that had ever since their interruption resided among, and (we more then doubt) acted with their enemies; that would not stay two or three dayes for their sitting, to bring their commands with him; and who stands now accused before them with several Articles of High Treason. Truly Sir, your actings have made our suspitions but too strong. You went declaredly from hence with an Address from this Army to the Parliament, and to settle according to their commands, the forces in this nation. But though you met at Conway the news of their being by force kept from sitting, whereby the end you proposed by your journey was cut off, even in the beginning of it; yet you went on to those who had offered that sinful violence. 'Tis true, you say, that by a letter you received from that factious party which had been guilty thereof, they intimated unto you, that a stop from the present was only put upon their sitting, and consequently a door of hope was opened unto you to bring them to their duty. But let all rational men judge, whether it had not been a more probable way conducing to that end, for you to have returned to this Army, and accompanied your perswasions with a declaration; that if those were not listened unto, the forces of this nation should be employed by you to bring them to that obedience, which fair means could not effect. We doubt you had too good an opinion of such men, or of the force of your own reasons, to believe that those who would not listen to the authority and commands of a Parliament, would be brought to their duties by the prevalency of your particular arguings, or desires. Had worthy General Monke been possest with the like thoughts, and employed only his arguments and entreaties to reduce them, putting his person also at the same time in their power, 'tis to be feared, we had received our laws from Wallingford House, and not from the Parliament, who only can make them and repeal them. But allow you could be so much mistaken in them, and in your self, why did you not forthwith return to your duty here, when you found experimentally the unsuccessfulness of your endeavours there? it being then too manifest that the Council of officers at Wallingford House were so far from restoring the Parliament, that they voted the calling a new one, with a Senate, and one and twenty Conservators with power in several particulars above both Senate and Parliament. And

when also Col. Jones (who you intrusted with the Army here) did (not) openly send out orders for the election of two out of each regiment, to compose that meeting at London, which was to introduce this new government, and vigorously contributed what in him lay, to promote subscriptions to an agreement, as opposite and destructive to the restoration of the Parliament, as even those fore-mentioned elections were designed to be: for which elections, we hope, you have not forgotten, how by particular letters to several officers here (ready to be produced) you did appear but too active and encouraging.

'But lest you might not remember the contents of letters to private persons, and of an ancienter date, we shall mind you of one written to a publick person, viz. Col. John Jones, and of a fresher date, viz. the 17th of December last; wherein you use these very words: "We seem to be necessitated to look towards the Long Parliament; 'tis to be feared they will be very high, in case they should be brought in without conditions." Let all that hear this, judge how fit that person is to command an Army of the Parliaments, that includes himself amongst those, who not out of willingness, but necessity, seem to be looking towards the restoration of the Parliament; and who expresses a fear they would be very high, if not bound up by conditions before their admittance. Your duty had been the contrary to what your fears are, and we would gladly know, who you judged fit to put conditions upon the Parliament? But since you fear the actings of the Parliament, unless brought in by conditions, you teach us thereby to keep you from the head of one of the Parliaments Armies, lest you should make use of their forces to secure you, and those like-minded with you, from your fears. For our parts, we desire no earthly thing more than their restoration, and bless God, both our duties and innocency makes us not fear, but desire they should sit as a PARLIAMENT, that is, without any previous conditions put upon them. You that could fear the Parliament would be very high, in case they should be admitted without conditions, and have associated your self of late with those, the moderatest of which were guilty of that apprehension, may be suspected to have been pleased with, if not consenting to, the interruption of that authority, whose high actings are confessedly feared by you.

'We shall not much dwell upon the title that you give Col. Jones, of "Dear Friend," in the said letter; though in it we cannot but observe, that 'tis not probable you would call him by that name, if you thought he had falsified the trust you had reposed in him; and yet that he has publickly acted against the authority of Parliament, and their laws, could not be unknown unto you, were it only in reference to that particular subscription promoted, of owning the Lord Fleetwood Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of this Commonwealth, contrary to an express Act in that behalf; whereby from

App. II. your substitute, he became my Lord Fleetwoods; and you from Lieutenant-General under the Parliament, became Lieutenant-General under their enemies. If you approv'd of this action, why should we receive you? If you disapprov'd it, why do you give the chief promoter of it the title of your dear friend? In the same letter also you have these words, viz. "I hope ere this the commissions for the setting of Civil Justice on the wheels in Ireland is come unto your hands:" which commissions being sent by the power of those who had violated the Parliaments authority, we might expect, would rather have had your discountenance, than your hope that they would come safely unto his hands. And though we love to have the wheels of Civil Justice moving; yet we as much desire to have those wheels receive their motion from that authority only which legally can give it to them; and we heartily wish you had the like principle.

'That you could have come from London hither, when your mentioned hopes failed you, and when your substitute Col. Jones had so egregiously acted against the Parliament, and with their enemies, is evident, by your being now able to come into Ireland; and therefore your declining thereof so long, proves the fault lay more in your want of inclination, than in your want of power; and if you had appeared active at London for the restoration of the Parliament, or earnest against those here which had neglected their duty therein, it is not over probable you would have been permitted to have come for Ireland, which (as your own letter imports) was well known at London, before your departure thence, to have declared for the Parliament; unless those that permitted you to come for this country, had believed your actings here (if received) would prove more advantagious to them, than to the Parliaments service. You went to London to represent things to the Parliament, and staid there all the while that by force they were kept from sitting; and as soon as ever (through providence) they were restored to sit, you hasten away hither, without any application to them. This being the matter of fact, we leave it to all sober men to make the inference. We cannot indeed but admire, that having assured you under all our hands, whatever the Parliaments commands were concerning you, when your case was heard by them, they should be chearfully and readily obeyed, that you would rather elect to put things into extreams as much as in you lay, than patiently waiting a little time, to have them receive a legal and quiet issue. If your actings have not incapacitated you to sit in the Parliament, doubtless it had been more proportionate to you to have gone to London, and there have acted what you went over for, than to have put your self up into Duncannon, the only place that has not (together with us) declared for the authority of the Parliament. Some possibly

from thence may infer, that you think it a more hopeful and more expeditious way to obtain the command of this Army, from so small a beginning thereunto as Duncannon; than to acquire that end by any hopes you have of reviving the Parliaments commission for it. We have upon all these considerations, thought it our duty to the Parliament, to send forces for the blocking up Duncannon: of all which we thought fit to send you notice, and remain,

'Your humble servants,

'Jo. Salt.	Har. Waller.
Sol. Cambie.	Broghill.
Rod. Mansel.	Cha. Coote.
Barry Foulk.	Chidly Coote.
Jo. Harrison.	Rich. Lehunt.
Geo. Pepper.	Eliah Greene.
Jo. Jeonar.	Hen. Owen.
Jo. King.	Ben. Lucas.
Mau. Fenton.	Jo. Frend.
E. Temple.	Hen. Morton.
W. Caulfield.	R. Fitz-Gerald.
Ri. Stephens.	Samp. Towgood.
Dan. Lisle.	Jo. Maunsell.
Theo. Jones.	Will. Caudler.
Tho. Hopkins.	

'Dated at Dublin,
Jan. 10, 1659.'

VII.

[*Lieutenant General Ludlow his Answer to a Letter sent unto him from Sr. Hardress Waller, and several other Gentlemen at Dublin, bearing date the* 10th *of January*, 1659.]

'Gentlemen,

'I yesterday received yours of the tenth instant, whereof I had a view in print sometime before, which makes me of a belief that it was rather intended for the informing of others, then the satisfying of me in the grounds of what you resolv'd upon touching the blocking up of this place; though I want the help of the press, and the like rhetorical pen for the publishing and illustrating what I have to answer, yet doubt not (through the clearness of the truth I have to offer) but I shall (in the judgement of any unbyassed person) make out my own sincerity, and the selfishness of this your undertaking.

'After your refusal to admit me to the command of this Army, (upon general suppositions of I know not what, till the pleasure of the Parliament were made known concerning me) I looked upon it as my duty not to hearken to your advice for my return into England, (you not being that council the Parliament commanded me to consult with in

App. II. things of that nature, nor principled for their interest which I am ingaged to carry on); most of you, though now declaring for the Parliament, having formerly with much zeal and industrie promoted a Single Persons interest, and by your present proceedings expressed an utter enmity and aversation to all whom this Parliament thought fit to intrust, either in civil or military imploiment. And therefore least I should acknowledge my self guilty of what you accuse me, (which my conscience clears me of) and by withdrawing my shoulder from the work the Parliament hath call'd me to, betray their interest, and those who are its hearty well-wishers; I made my repair unto this place, where I found the Governour and the rest of the officers declaring (though not with you) yet with all freedome and cheerfulness for this Parliament, expressing the great grief which they conceived at both their interruptions, their joy for their restitution, and their prosperous proceedings since they met, and their hearty desire they may go on to lay the top-stone; all which scarce any of you which subscribed this letter are able to affirm of your selves; and therefore was it they were unfree to joyn with you, and come under your conduct, whose design they had, and have still much cause to suspect, was rather to take advantage against those the Parliament had preferred, and thereby get into their places, then out of the least affection to this present Parliament.

'This was the cause I sent to Ross, Waterford, and other places, to press them to declare for the Parliament, not in shew only, but in reallity; which had they done, they would not have taken up such frivolous excuses for the disputing of my authority, (well known to be legally derived from this Parliament) nor upon such groundless suspitions have calumniated my person with disaffections to their authority, to which (through mercy) in the worst of times, I have born a faithful witness: and in the mean time yeelded obedience to Sir Hardress Waller, who hath no commission from the Parliament, who served a Single Persons interest whilst he might; and who by a letter he subscribed with others, to the Army in England, bid good speed to their undertakings, after their assuming the power into their own hands; and by his subscribing the letter sent hence to General Monk clearly espoused the Armies interest, and disclaimed the Parliaments, of which I am supposed only to be guilty, and therefore not to be received, though there be not one particular of that nature that sticks upon me, having in several letters (sent hence) born my witness against the said letter to General Monk expressing my self to this effect: That though by reason of the reports we then heard of General Monk's leaving the strong holds of Scotland, in the Cavalierish nobilities hands, I was not without my fears what the issue thereof might be; yet he declaring for the restitution of the Parliament (a lawfull authority), and the Army being as yet upon a personal

account, I thought it sinful to own the Army and disown him; and this it self is objected against me as a crime, as if I had branded General Monk's design with being Cavalierish. Neither did I at all own the Army in this late precipitate undertaking, nor acted with them otherwise then in a military capacity, but refused to joyn in their Committee of Safety (so called) or their Committee for Nomination (though earnestly pressed thereunto); neither am I conscious to my self that I did any thing since the interruption of the Parliament that did weaken their authority; but that I bore a constant witness for their restitution, and against those with whom I had to do that did any thing which I judg'd had a contrary aspect. And what discourse I had either with the officers of the Army, or others about government or reformation, was always with an intention to submit the same to the judgment of this Parliament. If the letters which I sent to Colonel Jones be in your custody (as I suppose they are) they will sufficiently evidence the discharge of my duty, both in relation to his answer to General Monk's letter; as also to that of the subscriptions to the engagements of the Army in England. But your design is to asperse, and not to justifie; for the accomplishment whereof, for want of something material, every shadow of a mole-hill must be magnified to a mountain: witness the deductions that are made from the title of "Dear Friend," in one of mine to Col. Jones of the 17 of December, as if from thence I must be concluded to consent to whatever evil he was guilty of; if I was mistaken in his friendship, he is not the only man in whom I have been deceived. But I have received reall friendship from him, and would not be ungrateful in my acknowledgments: yet truly I was so apprehensive of the evil of the letter to General Monk, and of the disingenuity of those subscriptions (of which had I approved I must have been a fool as well as a knave, it being both against my interest and my principle) that as I remember in my letter to him (wherein I bore my witness against them) I altered my inscription.

'But being by subsequent letters from him informed, that he was only passive therein, and that at the importunity of such colonels to whom those papers were directed, he consented to deliver the same unto them, (which (as I am informed) Sir Charles Coot did convey also to those officers and souldiers that were immediately under his command) notwithstanding I was not satisfied that he had discharged his duty therein, yet was I so far moderated in my thoughts towards him, that I judg'd my self bound, as not in Christianity to keep a distance from him, so not in prudence, he having my sword in his hand; which also may be a reason that a better interpretation at present is put upon your undertaking then it in truth deserves, and why you break through all rules of justice and moderation, for the getting of all places of strength into your power within this nation.

App. II. 'Another clause in that Letter much aggravated against me is this, "We seem to be necessitated to the looking towards the Long Parliament, it is to be feared if they come in without conditions they will be very high." If the date of that letter be viewed and considered, and my endeavours at that time made appear what they were, for the necessitating of the Army to the speedy restoring of the Parliament; as also my resolutions and endeavours then and above a week before to break out of the hands of the Army, in order to my repair to the discharge of my duty here, together with my intentions to come by the way of Miniehead to the Fort of Duncannon, upon supposition that the road by Holihead was laid against me; and not daring to trust my self at Dublin, where by their subscriptions to the Engagement of the Army in England, they had subjected themselves to another conduct; it would be evident that my joyning my self with those who seemed to be necessitated to the calling of the Parliament, and my writing to Colonel Jones, that I feared they would be very high if they came in without conditions was, to let him see it to be his prudence, as well as his duty, not to do anything in opposition to their authority, nor to me who was invested therewith; rather then that I was averse to their coming in, or that I desired that conditions should be put upon them, judging it always the most likely way to procure the mercy of the Parliament towards the Army, for the Army to have restored them with the greatest freedom and ingenuity. Yet must I own it as my opinion, that the power at present being in the hands of those who were obnoxious to the justice of the Parliament; and fearing whilst it was so, they would not be willing to subject their necks to the block: I thought it advisable for the avoiding of the effusion of blood, and for the putting the wheels of authority aright again, for the Parliament to have somewhat complied with the Army for the good of the whole, and for the preserving of our cause from being over-run by the common enemy, of which it was in imminent danger. But the Lord hath brought it about another way, and I hope a better, having through mercy much moderated their spirits towards their old servants (who by this late interruption had highly provoked them) to the disappointing the hopes of enemies, and preventing the fears of faithful and true friends.

'The last clause objected against me is this, "I hope ere this the commissions for setting of Civil Justice on the wheels are come to your hands." It seems very strange that the mentioning of these commissions should be such a hainous crime in me, reputed by you, who were free that the administration of all Civil Justice should be derived from a military hand, during the Lord Oliver and his son Richard's reign. It is to be feared, you now rather dislike the persons from whom it comes, than the thing it self. But I am glad you own it now to be your principle, 'twas alwaies mine: and I have during these

interruptions born a constant witness thereunto, and in particular against sending these commissions upon that account, advising that the Commissioners of Parliament upon their general instructions issue out commissions for the administring of Civil Justice, rather than derive it from so corrupt a fountain. But the Lawyers are of an opinion, whoever is actually in power, may set the wheels of Civil Justice going. Upon this score they were sent to Ireland, in answer to the importunity of the people there, who much complained of the mischiefs that befel them, for want of them: and in particular the running out of many Tories, who being long imprisoned for horrid murders, (there being no way of tryal) made their escape.

'It is easie hence to observe how occasions are sought after for the blasting of me; but it is a mercy (which I desire to own) that you have no more to lay to my charge, and that I have so just a bar to appeal unto, as that of the Parliament of England, who I doubt not will protect me, and do me right against the malicious prosecution of any Cavalierish spirit whatever. If to have been true, faithful, and constant to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, in opposition to a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers; if to bear my witness against such as are disaffected to publick interest, or as are vicious in their lives and conversations, or to be faithful in the discharge of the trust the Parliament reposed in me, be High Treason, I must confess my self guilty. For any thing else that may be laid to my charge, of publick concernment, I value not, except my infirmities.

'I presume here's the substance of those Articles of High Treason hinted at in yours, for had there been anything that by representing me black and odious, would have tended to the excusing you, in the opposing of me, commissionated by the Parliament, it would have been here inserted. But the old policy, in casting good store of dirt that some of it may stick, will not be forgotten.

'What my endeavours have been since my going for England, for the restitution of this Parliament, time will make out, being best known to those who are most concerned therein. I could express my self in that place no way but by letters for their service; which I did fully in most of those I wrote, till finding my endeavours fruitless to the ends I proposed to my self, and that my presence was necessary for the composing of differences in this Army for the service of this Parliament, I resolved to break out of the hands of those in power in England, by whom I was under a kind of restraint; and in order thereunto, had prepared for my escape, as is well known to some eminent persons, and resolved to come by the way of Miniehead, for the reasons afore specified. But several intervening providences giving life to my hopes of this Parliaments restitution, respited my journey, till by a vote of a Council of Officers at Whitehall, for the calling of a new Parliament, on the 24th instant, (with which you immediately

App. II. closed, by agreeing upon a Parliament to meet at Dublin the same day) I was out of hopes of serving the interest of the Parliament in that place any longer. This being Tuesday, I resolved on Thursday following in the evening, to begin my intended journey into Ireland. On Wednesday late at night, Lieutenant-Col. Walker brought me an account from Wallingford House, that my Lord Fleetwood being convinced that nothing but Charles Stuart his interest could be advanced by this new Parliament, had therefore resolved to remove the obstruction that was put in the way of the sitting of the old one. The next morning before Thursday, having met with the Lord Fleetwood in order thereunto, he received a letter from Captain Allgate, commander of the Oxford frigot, with a Declaration of part of this Army for the Parliament; he acquainted me therewith, and then thought it necessary I should repair to my charge, which to that time I could not convince him of, though for a moneth or five weeks past, I laboured to perswade him thereunto.

'But now having got my liberty (that power no longer prevailing) and finding my self owned in your Declaration, as Commander-in-Chief (my brother Kempstons name being thereunto, which since I understand was writ contrary to his mind, not liking his company) I thought it my duty to hast away; and the rather, for that though the Declaration for the generality of it, was plausible and fair, yet many of the persons who had subscribed the same, being known unto me to be persons of a contrary principle thereunto, and such as constantly adhered to another interest, for which they were laid aside, and (as they judged) disobliged by this Parliament; I look't upon it as my duty to hasten hither for the keeping this Army to the things declared for, and from the setting up a government by a Single Person, which the subscribers are generally inclined unto. For which service, I doubted not of the Parliaments acknowledgement; having first taken my leave of the Speaker, and left with him the Address and Petition of the officers of this Army, declaring their hearty affection to this Parliament, and their resolution to stand by them; whereunto very few of your hearts or hands then were. Notwithstanding my hast into the Bay of Dublin, I came too late; for I found those whom the Parliament owned, both Commissioners of Parliament, and Field-Officers of the Army, disown'd, dismist, and imprisoned; and those who never owned the Parliaments interest, except in shew, as now, for their own ends, being principled for a King or Single Person, preferred, and put into their places.

'As your ingenuity in your letter is very much to be commended, in that you do not aver that those publick-spirited persons, whom throughout the nation you have imprisoned, did not declare for the Parliament, but they did it not with you; so is your design much laid open thereby, and what I affirm'd concerning your setting up for your

selves, made good, and that your quarrel with this and other places, is not for not declaring for the Parliament, but for not declaring with you, or rather for you; which they could not satisfy themselves to do, for the reasons above mentioned, having but too much cause to doubt your heartiness therein, which out of the mouths of those who I judged the moderatest of your party, is now put out of doubt, they publickly declaring for Sir George Booth's design, of which this is a second part, and calling this Parliament a limb of the Parliament.

'Had I been upon the place of my command as General Monk was of his, when the resolutions of the Army came to me, your advice had been very wholsom and good; but it pleased the Lord to order it otherwise. I was in my journey towards London, when I was first surprized with the unwelcom news of the Parliaments interruption: and truly were I now in the same posture, accompanied with the like circumstances as then, I cannot say but that I should take the same resolution; more relying upon the reasonableness of what was to be proposed for the effecting of what I had in design, or rather the necessity that lay upon the Army of closing therewith; than upon the good opinion of my own parts, or interest. On this account I promised my self success, had the persons I had to do withall, been worse than they are.

'The reason of my not returning, when I found my endeavours fruitless, I have before mentioned, and likewise the witness I bare against those subscriptions, not so much, as they were against me, as against the Parliament and publick interest.

'As to the general meeting of the two officers of each regiment throughout the three nations, if it were designed to be in opposition to the restoring of this Parliament, it was contrary to what I intended; General Monk's commissioners (who had declared for this Parliament) having agreed to it, I was the more free to concur to it: and the rather, for that one part of the Army about London, being only engaged in the interruption of the Parliament, there was in my judgment no way more probable for their restitution without the effusion of bloud, than by the vote of a general Council of the Three Armies, three parts of four of which at the least, were not engaged in that unhappy undertaking.

'And whereas 'tis charged against me, that I wrote to have such men chosen as were spirited for the work; in letters to Collonel Richards, I interpreted that work to be the restoring of this Parliament. My witness against any thing of a new Parliament to be called, whether with Conservators, with a Senate, or without, is sufficiently known. And truly you have given too much ground of belief by your appointing a kind of Parliament of the Irish constitution, to meet on the same 24th of Jan., of your readiness to close with that kind of Parliament.

App. II. 'Thus have I though confusedly, yet (I hope) satisfactorily given answer to each particular in your letter, and to some objections that I have heard made against me, and made appear that your sending forces for the blocking up this place, hath proceeded from a selfish consideration, because I (who am appointed by this Parliament to command their forces in this nation, according to my principle have made it my practice to give countenance to all who fear God and work righteousness, and to promote an English interest in Ireland) will not receive orders from you (many of whom laid down your commissions when this Parliament was first restored, others were laid by long since, some of this Parliament, and others of you under consideration so to be, for your adherence to a contrary interest, and your vitiousness in life and conversation, and not for any thing of affection or duty to this Parliament, whom most of you never till now pretended to wish well unto).

'Did not you judge of me by your selves, who have taken this opportunity without any call that I know of, to put your selves into power and place; you might conclude from all these particulars that I should not have undertaken such a journey as this, and run so many hazards, and undergone so many affronts and difficulties as I have done, did I not look upon it as my duty to the Parliament, as far as I had an opportunity, to answer the call I had from them in promoting their interest, and standing by and countenancing such as fear the Lord, and have approved themselves well-wishers to his service: which had I been wanting in, I should not have had peace in my own conscience in the condition the Lord hath appointed me for my portion, which now through mercy whatever it be, I hope upon good grounds I have cause to promise unto my self; having though in much weakness, yet in faithfulness discharged the trust the Parliament reposed in me. It was in answer to their call I first undertook this imployment, its their service I have endeavoured to promote, its their pleasure I have waited for; which by letters from them of the seventh instant I understand to be, that out of their tender respect to the place and welfare of this nation, they have thought fit I should forthwith attend them, that thereby they may the more fully understand the affairs of this nation. In obedience whereunto I am making all possible speed, and hope to set sail for England this day, assuring my self that they will impartially judge of what is in difference between us, and will certainly so provide for the security of their interest here, as that whatever difficulty they may encounter with this ensuing summer from abroad or at home, they may have this nation to their friend; which truly in the hands things now are, they cannot promise unto themselves, and the rather if you continue your hostility against this and other places, and your restraint on such persons, who your own consciences tell you are more hearty to their service, and more ready

to obey their commands then your selves. The Lord divert that cloud which seems to hang over this poor nation, and direct you into ways that are of Truth and Peace, that you may not be beating your fellow-servants, but that the presence of the Lord may be amongst you, and you may see it your interest to be subservient to his great design of exalting Justice and Righteousness, which is all the hurt wished you,

'By your humble Servant,
'EDM. LUDLOW[1].

'Dated at DUNCANNON FORT this 21st of *January*, 1659.'

[1] The last two letters are from the pamphlet printed at the time:—'A Letter from Sir Hardress Waller and several other Gentlemen at Dublin, to Lieutenant General Ludlowe: With His Answer to the same.' London, printed for John Allen at the Rising Sun in Paul's Church-yard, 1660. 4to.

APPENDIX III.

THE ARTICLES AGAINST LIEUT.-GEN. LUDLOW.

App. III. These Articles against Ludlow and two others of the Commissioners for the Government of Ireland were agreed to at a Council of the officers of the Irish Army held on December 28, 1659, and presented to Parliament on January 19, 1660. Monck's letter of January 16 explains his reasons for supporting the attack on Ludlow. All three of the documents here printed are from volume fifty-three of the Clarke MSS. in Worcester College Library.

I.

'*Articles humbly exhibited to the Parliament by Sir Charles Coote Knight and Baronet, President of the Province of Conaught, by which Articles Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett Esq., Coll. Mathew Thomlinson, and Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlowe stand accused, impeached, and charged of high Treason.*

'1. That the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, and Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow being the waged servants of the Parliament, and imployed by them in most high and eminent trust, vizt. the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson as Commissioners of Parliament for the Government of Ireland and for ordering the affaires of the Army, and the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow as Lt. Generall and Commander-in-cheife of the Army in Ireland, they the said Collonell John Jones, Miles Corbett, Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, and Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow in perfidious and treachearous breach of their faith and trusts have wickedly and trayterously betrayed those trusts of the Parliament, and joyned

with that rebellious part of the Army in England who had contrary to their trust with force of armes trayterously interrupted the sitting of the Parliament and leavyed warre against them. And the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, and Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow have trayterously adhered unto, aided, assisted, and abetted that rebellious part of the Army in England in those trayterous and rebellious actions against the Parliament, and have conspired the continuance of that warre designed for the utter destruction of the Parliament and these three nations.

'2dly. That in pursuance therof they the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson have disowned and cast off the name of Commissioners of Parliament, stiling themselves Commissioners of the Comonwealth.

'3dly. That hee the said Collonel John Jones openly and publiquely owned that treacherous and traytrous act of part of the Army in England in their unjust force putt upon the Parliament, and did give therunto soe great countenance that one of the officers att a Councell of Warre where the said Collonel Jones was president moved that the thankes of the Army in Ireland might be given to that part of the Army in England which had cast out the Parliament, for what they had done therin.

'4thly. That the said Collonel John Jones being by the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow substituted in his absence Commander-in-Cheife of the Parliaments forces in Ireland, whereby as by his being also Commissioner of Parliament hee was enabled with full power to preserve the Parliaments interest in Ireland; yett hee the said Collonel John Jones did trayterously sett himselfe against the Parliament, and to the utmost of his power in both capacityes laboured and endeavoured the destruction of the Parliament, and manifested the same in sundry particulers, as by severall instances therof may appeare.

'5thly. That hee the said Collonel John Jones did nott correspond in his intelligence (as hee ought to have done) with those Commissioners whom the Parliament had appointed for regulating the Army in England, nor with the Councell of State there constituted by the Parliament. But on the contrary trayterously corresponded and held intelligence with that rebellious part of the Army in England, and received orders from Generall Fleetwood as Generall of the Army, and Major-Generall Lambert as Major-Generall, contrary to expresse orders and votes of Parliament against those persons, and against those very thinges particulerly.

'6thly. That hee the said Collonel John Jones in obedience to orders from the said Generall Fleetwood, and contrary to the votes of Parliament aforesaid, hath laboured the procuring subscripcions from

App. III. the severall regiments, troopes and companyes of the Army in Ireland for their owning the said Generall Fleetwood to be Generall &c. And therby trayterously engaging the Army heere against the Parliament.

'7thly. That the said Collonel John Jones contrary to his trust and duty to the Parliament as aforesaid, and after the said force putt upon the Parliament, hath received and owned and promoted orders from the said Generall Fleetwood and Councill of Officers in London, for choosing and sending hence agents from this Army to joine with others of that rebellious party in England, intended as a Generall Councill of the Army of the three Nations for proposing and imposing on the people such a forme or modell of governement as should to them the said Generall Councill seeme fitting, therin trayterously intending the subversion of the fundamentall lawes of the nation, the freedome and very essence of Parliament, and the liberty of the people.

'8thly. That Generall Monck, a faithfull servant to the Parliament, having by his lettre and an expresse messenger sent purposely therwith to the Commissioners of Parliament and the Commanders-in-cheif of the Army in Ireland [invited them] to joine with him (as it was their duty) in freeing the Parliament of that force imposed on them, and the restoring them to their actings in their trust for the people; they the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, Commissioners of Parliament, as farre as in them lay discouraged the said Generall Monck from that his undertaking. And hee the said Collonel John Jones particulerly declared against the said Generall Monck therin, and gave his said Declaracion as the sense of the Army in Ireland (said hee) nemine contradicente, wheras hee therin advised with 6 or 7 only of the officers of the Army then at hand, and of those few some also dissenting and protesting against itt. And although the said Collonel John Jones published in print what himselfe had soe wrought to be sent to Generall Monke, yett hee did nott publish butt suppressed Generall Monck's lettre, least the Army in Ireland might have notice therof, and soe joine with Generall Monck for restitution of the Parliament.

'9thly. That they the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson did therupon send into Scotland Major John Barett with that Declaracion against Generall Monck's proceeding for the Parliament, and that hee the said Barett was by the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, Commissioners of Parliament, furnished for that end with money out of the publique treasury against the Parliament.

'10thly. That they the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson did encourage, instruct, and furnish

Captain Sherland, commanding in the Fox frigott then riding in the Bay of Dublin, for releiving the Garrison of Ayre in Scotland said to have then declared for the said Generall Fleetwood against the Parliament.

'11thly. That the said Miles Corbett and Collonel Thomlinson [being] invested with power as Commissioners of Parliament superintendent to the Comander-in-Cheife, and therby inabled to controule his actings as should be necessary, did not give any stop to the proceedings of the said Collonel J. Jones as aforesaid. But owned him therin, and assisting at Councill of Warre advised and concurred with the said Collonel John Jones in his way against the Parliament as aforesaid.

'12thly. That after Generall Fleetwood had publiquely joined with that rebellious part of the Army who rose up against the Parliament, the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson in their printed Declaracion (in the stile of a lettre) dated the 8th day of November 1659 for a day of solemne humiliacion and prayer, the first day wherof they appointed to be the 11th day of Nov. 1659, though they mencion noe prayers to be made for the Parliament, yett they desire particulerly that their honourable and pretious freind the Lord Fleetwood (for soe they stile him) may be remembred by all the Churches and people of the land, that the Lord would be his sunne and sheild; wherby the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson still further manifested to the world their owne full approbacion of the said Generall Fleetwoods opposicion to the Parliament, and their owne full and entire adherence to him therin.

'13thly. That after the Parliaments servants of the Army and others in Dublin had in a good measure served the Parliaments interest, and given a stoppe to his the said Collonel John Jones actings as aforesaid, hee the said Collonel John Jones, then in restraint untill the Parliaments pleasure concerning him should be knowne, did notwithstanding give secrett orders to severall Officers in garrison in Ireland to oppose and stand out against those appearing for the Parliament, hee trayterously labouring therin, as farre as in him was, to imbroyle the Army and Nation in warre and bloud.

'14thly. That the said Collonel Mathew Thomlinson being told of his the said Collonel John Jones his actings soe dangerously and trayterously as aforesaid, in opposition to the Parliaments interest and peace of the nation, the said Collonel Mathew Thomlinson avowed the said Collonel John Jones his soe doing, as what was good, and well done, and answerable (said hee) to the duty of his place.

'15thly. And wheras the Parliament had enacted: That noe Money Custome or Excise should be raised after the 11th of Oct. 1659,

App. III. contrary to law or without consent of Parliament, under the penalty of high Treason, they the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Thomlinson, by a publique Declaracion dated the 21th of Oct. 1659, executed notwithstanding and enforced the payment of custome and excise after the time limited, and without consent of Parliament, and contrary to the said Act of Parliament, and contrary to lawe, probably intending to imploy the money soe raised in continuing the warre against the Parliament, and for carrying on the then designes of the Parliaments enemies in England, if there should be occasion.

'16thly. That they the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, and Collonel Mathew Thomlinson usurping and exercizing an illegall and arbitrary power over the inheritances and proprietyes of the people, att their pleasure by paper orders and without legall tryall determined possessions, and ejected or ordered the casting out of their estates those who have bin therin legally possessed.

'17thly. That the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow hath generally disobliged the Parliaments freinds and faithful servants heere, casting them out of the Army without examinacion taken, or advice therin first had with officers of the Army; but acting contrary to what had beene offred to him in that by the officers of the Army, taken into his councills, Fowles, Hickes, and the very abjects of men, and most nott of the Army.

'18thly. That the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow on his going hence into England committed the charge of the Army to Collonel John Jones aforesaid, a person ignorant in matters of that nature, hee the said Lt. Generall nott consulting the officers of the Army in that their greatest concernment and tending to the welfare and peace of the Army and nation.

'19thly. That hee the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlowe being on his way to London and nott further than Conway in Wales, did there understand of the interrupcion given to the Parliament by force of armes by part of the Army in England, and their leavying warre against the Parliament for the destruccion thereof; yett did hee not therupon returne to his charge and trust in Ireland for securing the Parliaments interest in Ireland even then designed on, and that appearing unto him the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow by lettres from the said Generall Fleetwood and others to himselfe directed, which were then and there delivered to him, and they by him the said Lt. Generall inclosed in his owne lettre, and sent by the same hand to the said Collonel John Jones his substitute in Ireland, to the end to advance the said rebellious designes against the Parliament.

'20thly. That the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow being after informed of his the said Collonel Jones his actings contrary to his trust and duty as aforesaid, did nott supersede the said Collonel John Jones, nor restrained him from soe doing by orders to the contrary, nor did

hee the said Lt. Generall afford for that end his presence in Ireland become then soe necessary. App. III

'21thly. That the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow being in high trust by Parliament as in their service heere, soe in being one with others appointed a Commissioner for ordering the Army of this Commonwealth, hee the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow did nott act with others in that trust to whom hee might have joined himselfe att Portsmouth or elsewhere, nor did hee acquaint himselfe with the proceedings of the Councill of State acting then for the Parliament in London; but on the contrary settling himselfe in the quarters of the Parliaments enemyes at London, there acted with them, and attayned that trust particulerly among them of being one of the designed Conservators.

'22thly. That in his the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow's conversing soe with the adverse party in London was hazarded in a high degree the peace and welfare of the People, there being in him the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow and Generall Fleetwood a meeting of two of the Parliaments Commissioners for the Army, and wanting only the concurrence but of one more, wherby in contrary actings on either side the Army had bin in confusion, and the distractions of the three nations heightned even to blood and ruine.

'23thly. That hee the Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow is invited into Ireland by that party in Ireland which are adverse to the Parliament, whose coming over would be (as they hope and professe) the strengthning of their hands to a dismall change, tending nott only to the disgusting of the whole Army dissatisfied with his governement over them, but also to the deviding and making of them in that which they have now undertaken in defence of the Parliament.

'24thly. That by letters intercepted out of England it is apparent, that the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow is closed with and made one of the party in the Army in England appearing against the Parliament, and that his coming hither at present cannott be interpreted otherwise then to carry on the same designes in Ireland against the Parliament.

'25thly. That the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow by lettres from himselfe to severall officers in severall parts of the Nation hath promoted and encouraged the choosing of agents from the Army in Ireland to joine with that Juncto of Officers pretended from the Armyes in the three Nacions for modelling the government and ordering of Parliaments tending to the subverting of the fundamentall lawes of the nacions, priviledges of Parliaments, and libertyes and propertyes of the people, and introducing an arbitrary governement.

'26thly. That there are just grounds to believe, that hee the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow is sent over into Ireland in the present juncture of affairs designedly, and by expresse advice and orders of the

App. III. said Generall Fleetwood head of that rebellious party and faction in England, to the end that this nacion may be engaged here against the Parliament, and if occasion shall bee in England.

'27thly. That in pursuance therof hee the said Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow, well knowing the late engagement of the Parliaments servants heere for the Parliament, both by their Declaracion to that end published, and by their lettre expresly sent to that purpose to him the said Lt. Generall Ludlow, yett hee the said Lt. Generall Ludlow in opposicion to the Parliaments interest heere hath menaced such the Parliaments servants even to blood, and hath acted otherwise in hostile manner against them, without expecting the Parliaments pleasure concerning him and them. Itt having bin expresly declared to him the said Lt. Generall, that a charge hath bin already laid against him before the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for the Armyes of the Comonwealth, and that agents are to be forthwith sent with the like charge against him the said Lt. Generall to the Parliament, and that the Parliaments servants heere would therupon humbly and readily submitt to the Parliaments pleasure in all thinges concerning the ordering of this Army into what hands the Parliament shall judge fitting.

'For which the said Sir Charles Coote doth impeach the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, and Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow, and every of them of high Treason.

'And the said Sir Charles Coote, by protestacion saving to himselfe the liberty of exhibiting att any time heerafter any other accusation or impeachment against the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, and Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow, and also of replying to the answer that the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, and Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow, or any of them, shall make unto the said Articles or to any of them, and of offring proofes also of the premises or any of them, or any other impeachment or accusacion that shalbe exhibited by them, as the cause shall (according to the course of Parliament) require, doth humbly pray, that the said Collonel John Jones, Miles Corbett, Collonel Mathew Thomlinson, and Lt. Generall Edmund Ludlow may be putt speedily to answer for all and every the premises, that such proceedings, examinacions, tryalls, and judgements, may be upon every of them had and used as is agreable to law and justice.

'Cha. Coote.'

These charges against Ludlow are repeated with some slight alterations, and in less detail, in a letter from the Irish officers to the Commissioners of Parliament at Portsmouth, Dec. 24, 1659. MSS. in Trinity College Dublin, F. 3. 18, p. 648. The text of Articles 17, 22, 23, above, apparently contains some slight errors.

II. App. III.

'At a Councill of Officers held at Dublin the 26th day of December 1659.

'Sir Charles Coote.
Colonel John Bridges.
„ Edm. Temple.
„ Wm. Warden.
„ John Cole.
„ Theo. Jones.
„ Tho. Long.
„ Chidley Coote.
Lt. Coll. Warren.
Major Edward Warren.
Captain Jno. Francke.
„ John Jeoner.
„ Abell Warren.
Lt. John Thompson.
Captain Wm. Bond.
„ Robert Cooke.
Cornet Jas. Leigh.
Ens. Tho. Manwarring.
Cornet Edw. Harrington.

'Question.

'Uppon a full debate concerneing the generall actings of Lieutennant Generall Ludlow since the interruption put uppon the Parliament in October last, whether the said Lieutennant Generall hath given just occasion of suspition that hee is noe friend to the Parliament.

'Resolved in the affirmative, Nemine contradicente.

'Question.

'Whether if the said Lieutennant Generall Ludlowe should transport himselfe into Ireland itt bee thought consistent with the safety of the Parliaments interest heere, to admitt the saide Lieut. Generall Ludlowe into the heade of the Army, untill the Parliament, the Council of State, or the Parliaments Generalls at Portsmouth (who have had information from hence of his actings) shall signifie unto us theire pleasure heerein.

'Resolved in the negative, Nemine contradicente.'

III.

[*Major-General Monck to the Speaker.*]

'Right Honourable,

'Compareing the contents of yours of the 14th[1] instant with the inclosed this day brought to my hands by an expresse from Ireland, [I] doe feare there may bee some misinformation in the case, for the better cleareing whereof you must give mee leave humbly to move you to the perusall of these papers inclosed, and I doubt not but you will finde sufficient ground to beleeve that what those gentlemen have done in Ireland in this exigency of affaires stands

[1] See Cal. S. P., Dom., 1659-60, p. 310. The Council say, 'Our affaires in Ireland are not at present fully settled. Lieutenant-Generall Ludlowe is returned into Ireland, & hath written to us his feares, that although the Parliament's interest be held forth by the officers, another interest is at the bottome.'

App. III. uppon the same foote with mine and some of your owne actings: that is, for the restitution of this Parliament to itts present condition, and in them for the priviledges and fredome of future Parliaments in order to the support of those ordinances of God, vizt. Magistracy and Ministry, and the preservation of the rights and libertyes of all the people of these nations; and this I hope I may desire you to beleeve on theire behalfe, and therefore my humble desires are, that you would bee very tender of harboureing the least suspition of those gentlemen, or theire late actings, which I may, I suppose, without offence, againe say, they are noe lesse honnest then mine owne, and little lesse advantagiouse to your service and affaires. As for Lt. Generall Ludlowe I shall say little, but referr you to the consideration of his owne actings with the Army and Committee, or sub-Committee for the Government, when he was last in London dureing your interruption, as alsoe to the inclosed paper of Articles; but to the end there may bee an (?) end to all jealousies I humbly offer it to your consideration that the Parliament would please to appoint Commissioners for the mannagement of theire affaires both martiall and civill in Ireland; and whether the Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, Sir Hardris Waller, Sir Theo. Jones, and Colonel Hill, with such others as they shall please to joyne with them, may not bee fitt persons for that trust. And as for the Irish forces, there was never any intention of sending them into Scotland, because they wanted money to pay theire quarters, but I suppose itts not amisse to send them towards Chester, that they may bee in a readines for transportation as occasion shall require. Desireing the Almighty to direct you in all your councills I remaine.

'Your very humble servant,

'GEORGE MONCK.

'FERRIBRIDGE,
16 *Jan.* 1659.'

APPENDIX IV.

A SOBER VINDICATION OF LIEUT.-GEN. LUDLOW.

Some extracts from this anonymous vindication of Ludlow and his Irish supporters have been quoted in the notes to the Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 119, 129. The longer passages which follow are of sufficient interest to be reprinted. The full title of the pamphlet is as follows:

'A Sober Vindication of Lt. Gen. Ludlowe and others. The answer to a printed letter sent from Sir Hardress Waller in Ireland and other noncommissioned officers at Dublin to Lt. General Ludlow at Duncannon, Commander-in-Chief of all the Parliament's forces in Ireland. Wherein you have also a faithful but summary history of the affairs in Ireland as they now stand, of their antiparliamentary proceedings with the Parliaments best friends, their imprisoning & persecuting the ministers of the gospel, and 100 of others that ever adhered to the Parliament, indulging the Irish but endangering the Parliament & English interest every day, to the ruin of the Country.

'By a faithful friend to the Parliament & Commonwealth.

'London. Printed for Giles Calvert at the Black-spred-Eagle at the West End of Pauls, 1660.

* * * * * * * *

'*First*, That this transaction against Lt. G. L. hath been commenced, prosecuted, and the wheels drawn, by four unhandsome steeds.

'1. *Falsitie*. 1. They gave it out to win the souldiers, that Lt. G. L. had sent letters over to some of them to secure Dublin Castle, and to imprison the Anabaptists therein, for that the said Anabaptists and Sectarians had resolved to cut many of the old Protestants throats, and to imprison the rest of them in the said

App. IV. Castle, and that the time was agreed upon when it should be done. 2. They told the souldiers they had six moneths pay ready for them, if they would cast off their Sectarian officers, and take others from them. 3. Within two or three dayes after the surprize of the Castle, it was reported that they had found great store of armes and ammunition in the houses of some of the Sectarians, which they had prepared for the purpose aforesaid, which were but a birding piece, an old pistol, or such like.

'2. *Hypocrisie.* There being some heart-burnings, animosities and jealousies about difference in opinions, some of the professors at Dublin (who judge that union with the head ought to be the ground of all Christian communion between the members) appointed a meeting for the propagation of brotherly love and affection, wherein some refused to joyn, because Anabaptists frequented the meeting; but so soon as the plot was laid for surprizing Dublin Castle, some of those refusers desired a conference in order to a reconciliation, where Col. Tomlinson, Dr. Winter, Justice Cooke, Col. Laurence, Lt. Colonel Jones Governour of the Castle, Major Warren, and others, were appointed to be present; when all persons being secure and intent upon it, the Tuesday before the meeting the Castle was surprized, the Sectarians all disarmed, bone-fires made, and other great solemnities, for joy that no Sectarian should continue in the Army, and healths drunk to their confusion, Mr. Madder discountenanced and discouraged, news brought to Mr. Blackwood that if he preacht any more at Chichester house, his throat should be cut, which Sir Hardress Waller heareing of, gave strict order that no violence should be done unto him, Doctor Harding and his friends driven from their meeting place, and all this pretended for the service of the Parliament.

'3. *Treachery.* For, so soon as notice was given that Dublin Castle was taken, they sent to other garisons for their concurrence therein, who very chearfully and unanimously all the nation over declared for the Parliament, but desired that all might rest in peace and quiet till they could hear from them or Lt. G. L. But within few dayes after, they voted his non-admission, in case he should attempt to come over, as suspecting him to be no friend to the Parliament, and gave it out that the garisons could not be safe in the hands of Sectaries or such as favoured them; which so sudden a recession from their Declaration for the Parliament, wherein they had owned Lt. G. L. as Commander-in-chief, put some of the commissioned officers to a demurre, as Pretty, Phayre, Wallis, Abbot, Brayfield, Smith, Bennet, Dennison and others, who cheerfully declared for the Parliament, but were not free to leave their commands, or to receive orders from any but from their lawful superiors; whereupon Sir Hardress Waller wrote letters to divers of them, desiring their

speedy repair to Dublin for further satisfaction, promising them all freedom and civil usage, where they were no sooner arrived, but instantly guards were set upon them, or were clapt in prison; soon after was sent over, the Act of Indempnity, which instead of giving obedience to it, they hurried away their prisoners to remote castles, having imprisoned such as never subscribed either the letter to General Munck, or the Ingagement for a General, or in the least acted against the Parliament, (and as I have been told, some of them, put in irons).

* * * * * * * *

'4. *Cruelty.* When L. G. Ludlow came to an anchor in the Bay of Dublin, he sent a letter by Mr. Alder, to these officers at Dublin to give them notice of it, intending to have landed early the next morning, but Sir Hardress Waller upon receit of the letter, commits Mr. Alder into the Sheriffs house, keeps two of the sea-men prisoners, and sent a party of Horse to hinder his landing; who thereupon desired a right understanding between them, and that he might have some provision sent by his servant a ship-board, which was refused, and not a bit of bread or drop of fresh water after the first day might be sent to him by any upon pain of imprisonment, and the high displeasure of the officers at Dublin. L. G. L. notwithstanding (having waited their pleasure three or four dayes, endeavours being used to make a muttering among the sea-men, and to fire the frigot with granado's, as is reported) set sail from thence to Duncannon, where he was received at the Fort, but was not permitted to have any provisions from Waterford for his moneys for himself or the sea-men; though he had payed for 1500 weight of bisket it was forcibly taken away, and the country people frighted, and forced to drive away their cattel from about Duncannon, being told by the souldiers that L. G. L. was a traytor, and run away from the Parliament, with adulatory and minatory messages sent into the Fort, that if the souldiers would throw their General over the walls, they should be made officers and have their arrears; if otherwise, they should be sent to the Barbadoes, and serve seven years apprentiship.

'It is very necessary to consider the rise of these strange transactions; so far as any thing was really intended for the Parliaments service it is highly to be honoured and commended, I hope all honest men will acquiesce and rejoyce in it; but L. G. L. and the army in Ireland were generally for the Parliament, without any hesitation or warping; and thus it was, L. G. L. at his being in Ireland, made it his business to discriminate and distinguish such officers of the army as had in any measure born their testimony against the late apostacy, and that were faithful to the Parliamentary interest, from such as had not been so cordial, and there was a list agreed upon to be presented to the Parliament; those that were omitted being left in the heads of

App. IV. their commands, fearing a reducement, began to consult how to continue in their places ; in that interim the officers of the army from London sent over an engagement in Lt. G. Ludlows absence, to set up a General in opposition to the Parliament, which abominable thing was not so zealously protested against as it should have been, but in order to keep the peace of the nation, with a good intention as was pretended, too many subscribed it, who had also some of them sent a discouraging letter to renowned General Monck. Hereupon the children of this world being wiser in their generation then the children of light, that which the commissioned officers should have done, namely, to have fully declared for the Parliament against the factious party in England who opposed them, the non-commissioned officers did, ingrossing all the applause and glory of it to such as probably had otherwise been reduced, refusing the assistance of any that had commissions from the Parliament, fearing there might not be honour enough for them all ; but behold the falacy ! for as I have credibly heard many, and some of those who are now imprisoned, were then drawing up a Declaration for the Parliament, to be sent to the officers at Wallingford-house, which these gentlemen hearing of, made the more haste to prevent them. But blessed be God that it is done, if the cause of Holiness and Righteousness may proceed and prosper, I hope the Sectarians will rejoyce whatever becomes of them. All this was done by the instigation and incitement of such of the Clergy as are implacable enemies to the Sectarians ; and the true reason of this dissatisfaction and opposition, why they are so angry with L. G. L. is, because they think he too much favours the Sectarians, though like a prudent father, he manifests an equal affection to all honest men of different apprehensions, and being one who I am confident was never angry with any man for being no wiser then God had made him, but his delight is in the Saints, and in such as excel in vertue ; and it being observed that the Sectarian officers, so called, keep a more vigilant eye, and hold a stricter hand upon the souldiers, then others did, punishing them for swearing, drunkenness, absence from Gods service, or their duty, and the least disorders and unruliness ; the souldiers hoping for and being promised more freedom and liberty under other commanders, were willing to shake off the yoak, and sold their officers, some upon promise of their arrears, some for a barrel of beer, and others for trifles. So as in effect the victory so much boasted of in Ireland is only over the poor Sectarians, who are friends and servants to this Parliament.'

APPENDIX V.

THE ELECTION FOR HINDON. APRIL, 1660.

[*Mr. William Thynne to Sir James Thynne.*]

'Sir,

'Since the returne of Sir Thomas Thynne's servant Ludlow hath apeared in the country, and on Thursday last att Hinden. I was there at the same tyme; he courted the burgers for the burgeship in Parliament, and I feare may carry it, for his apearance (for feare more then loue) takes much with them, and some of our voices apeared but with cloudy countinances after hee came into towne. Ludlow intends to be at Hinden at the election, which wilbe on Wensday next, except some good fate hinders his intention, of which I have some hopes, for there goes a rumer about the country that hee is sent for (by a serjant at armes) from the Councell. Somtymes I doe wish Sir Thomas Thynne att the election, and I dought some may blame him in case he doth not come downe, for the country are genirally against Ludlow. Mr. Seamere prosecuts the buisnes very hard for himselfe, yet I am told that rather then Ludlow should be choasen, he would be content to cast lots, and the looser to give the other his assistance & voices; but that wee shall not consent vnto, for wee conceave our number to be greater in voices than his. Your good neighbor and friend Mr. John Topp dyed Tuesday last, Mr. Earnley and Sir A. Ashley Cooper are knights for this County. Mr. Swanton & Mr. Hughes, Sir Thomas Thynne's good friend at Hinden, are Burgesses for Wilton. All thinges heere are very well and quiett, and the springe doth beginn to come on, and the place to looke pleasantly wants nothing but your presence. I pray, Sir, acquaint Sir Thomas with what I haue wrytten about Hinden buisnes, for I have not wrytten to him, because I have some expectacion possibly Sir Thomas may be heere every minnite; howsoever he may be assurd wee will make the most of his buisness wee

App. V. cann, in case he come not, and see the last of it, haueinge gone soe farr. May the good God of Heauen preserue you is and shalbe the prayers of

'Your faithfull humble & obleidged Seruant

'Wm. Thynne.

'2 *April*, 1660.'

[A Postscript follows.]

[Endorsed:—'These

To Sir James Thynne att Richmond, present. Leave this att the signe of the Goate in Brainford[1].'

[1] The original of this letter is at Longleat.

APPENDIX VI.

LETTERS OF THE ENGLISH EXILES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING LUDLOW'S SOJOURN IN SWITZERLAND.

I.

[*William Cawley to J. H. Hummel.*]

A Monsieur
Monsieur Homellius ministre de la parole de Dieu
à Bern.

'[*Respondi* 26 *Novembris* 1663.]

'Reverend and Worthy Sir, App. VI.

'Those altogether undeserved favours, which by yo[ur] . . . . and mediation we stript and peeled exiles dr . . . . may be termed dear, for executing judgment a . . . . malefactors, for ejecting lordly domineering, ... [pro]phane and scandalous ministers, dumb dogs, ha . . . . shephards understood not, and for doing other gen . . . . in those indispensable, Gods glory, and his Zion . . . . have from their Excellencyes, ever to protecti . . . . received, commands as we are men and Ch[ristians] . . . . voyce of gratitude, even to the sacrificing of . . . . altar, for their and this countrys service . . . . We have great reason to believe divine and religi . . . . [indu]ced their Excellencyes to this protecting, this preserv[ing us], hoping they will please to place this vast debt of ours on . . . . account. He will certaynly at the great day with interest repay it, when every drop of cold water given eo nomine, shall be remembered and requited. Et quis falli timet, cum ipsa veritas promittit? Sir it's my humble request, you will please to assist my dear friends, in apologising on my behalf for not personally wayting with them on their Excellencyes. A wide and incurable ruptur in the intestines with a spice of the stone modestly pleads my excuse. I hope their Excellencyes and you will accept it. Mine age alsoe, somewhat more

App. VI. then sixty, addes weight to these perticular infirmityes, (noe litle infirmitye, were it alone). I am therefore with the patience of the just[1] (the Lord making every malady a mercy and every soul temptation a speciall ordinance for my present and eternall good), wayting on him all the days of my appoynted time till my change shall come, well knowing he performeth the thing that is appoynted for me, and that the Almighty troubleth me. He is the refiner, wicked men but his instruments and skullions, doing us good against their wills, the fruit of all these fatherly chastisements being to humble us and take away our syns. Therefore we have noe reason to be terrifyed by our adversaryes etc. 1. Phil. 28. 29. Sir, I dare not proceed to a farder length, least I should beg a second pardon for that trouble. Therefore shall commend you to the grace of God etc. beseeching him, that he will give you an eminent seal to your ministrye, that soe turning many souls to righteousnesse by the word of reconciliation, you may shine as the s[un for ever] and ever. And when our savyour comes to give all [the kingdom] under heaven, the whole heaven, to the people of the s[aints of the most] high, 7. Dan. 27, then will he change our vile bo[dy that it] may be fasyoned like unto his gloryous body. For God shall come and all the saynts with him. And [the Lord shall] be king over all the earth. For which blessed and [glorious] advent we beseech you give us your daily and . . . . [pray]ers, that this day come not upon us unawares, but [that we may] all be found in dutye, and doing the willes of [God], specyally his poorest and unworthyest se[rvant, who] desyres to approve himselfe in all offices of o[bedience and] love,

'Your most affec[tionate] and faithfull friend
'WILLIAM CAWLEY,

'But synce I left my native soyle
'W. JOHNSON.

'I well know, both my name and life are safe in the hands of their Excellencyes and yours.

'*From* VEVAY, 29 *Aug.* 63[2].'

II.

[*The same to the same.*]

To the reverend Mr. Homelius.

'[*Accepi* 27 *Septembris* 1663.]

'REVEREND SIR,

'My former desyred your favour, this presents you with a deserved duty of gratitude for your kind acceptance and actually answering it with toe much of respect towards him, who yet hath nothing to retaliat.

[1] 'patient of the kast.' Stern.

[2] Stern, Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge, p. 1.

The great and happy successe of my deare freinds journey, receiving such high declarations of their Excellencyes unparalleled favours to poor banisht ones, arysing out of their own innat goodnesse and your unwearyed paynes to accomplish it, calls first for prayses to God, from whome alone comes the preparation of the heart and the answer of the toung, and then all due acknowledgment we possibly can give to their Excellencyes for their continued favours in protecting us, by defending the poor and needy, and delivering us out of the hand of those would swallow us up and destroy us.

'All the retributions we can give are at present only prayers, and vowed resolutions, when the Lord shall please to turn our captivity, not only in profession and words to be theirs, but most willing alsoe to lay down our lives and all called ours at their Excellencyes feet for this countreys good and service, and to aprove ourselves yours for ever, as a great and successfull instrument in the hand of the Lord for our present preservation, amongst whome be pleased to believe, is, (though of all most unworthy to be owned by their Excellencyes or your worthy self),

'Sir,

'Your most affectionate freind to serve and honour you,

'W. Cawley.

'Vevay,
25 *Sept.* 63.'

III.

'*A le revérend Monsieur.*

'*Monsieur Homelius ministre de la parole de Dieu à Berne.*

'[*Accepi* 4 *Octobris. Respondi* 5 *Octobris.*]

'Reverend Sir,

'There is noe man living moore sencible of his great obligations to their Excellencies than myselfe, owing my life and being under God unto them, by whose favour and protection I doe not only enjoy both, but with great freedom and libertie, and owing all possible gratitude to yourselfe, as God's instrument in obtayning this freedome, favour, and protection for mee. I had wayted on my countrymen to have presented [my]selfe att Berne, where they were so highly honored by their Excellencies, but that I thought it more suitable to my present afflicted condition rather to expresse my thankfulnesse both unto the Lord and unto them, by living dutifully and obediently heere, and by dayly praying unto the Lord for them. As noe men are more eminent for this than my countrymen that were with you, so wee all trust in the Lord, that by his grace wee shall be enabled soe to returne such thankfulness to himselfe, to their Excellencies, and to yourselfe, that wee may see and behold the Lord's mercie greater to us therein, than

App. VI. in preservfng of our lives. It is not possible for mee, to expresse my thanks in words to you, but I long for an oportunity moore fully to express myselfe to bee,

'reverend Sir,

'Your most obliged and humble servant,

'JOHN LISLE[1].

'VIVAY [sic],
October 1, 1663.'

IV.

[*An information concerning the Exiles.*]

'Ludlow, Whally le bossu, L'Isle se disant chanchelier, et Goff. qui lon reconnoit aisement par la ressemblance de son frere, et vn nomme Spincer sont habitués dans Vevay au bord du lac de Geneue. Ces deux premiers ont infatué les Suisses par vne deuotion exemplaire dont ils ont fait profession a leur arriuée, et par le titre de general que lvn prend aussi bien que lautre celuy de chanchellier.

'Depuis deux moys que par la perfidie dvn genevois B... ils ont eu quelque ombrage, ils ne sortent plus que pour aller le dimanche au presche, apres que leur hoste, et lun dentre eux vont reconnettre toutes les aduenues. Et pour tromper plus aisement ce peuble, qui a receu auec aplaudissement leur justificacion pretendue intitulée Le Juge iugé se justifiant, ou ils recoiuent en effet ou bien ils supposent des paquets entiers de lettres qui viennent par le batteau de poste de Geneue. Et pendant la semaine ils escriuent perpetuellement faisant semblant destre fort afferés et de faire reponce a leur depesches, sous ce pretexte ils ont rompu comerce auec deux familles qui les voioint auparauant. Ce qui me persuade que toutes ces depesches ne sont pas supposées, et qu'ils enuoyent et recoiuent par ce moyen de Geneuois des nouelles de leur complices dans le roiaume, est que dans le temps que lon a euanté cette sedicion dans la prouince de Yorksire Ludlow a failli mourir de tristesse. Comme je remarque dans vne de mes lettres escrittes a Monseigneur le Comte, si leur prise est de consequence au seruice du Roy on en peut venir a bout presentement plus facilement, par ce que ceux que le Roy honorera de cette commission y treuueront des amys asseurés qu'il a fallu menager et gagner, et des retraittes seures auec cela. Come les esperances des parricides ont esté vaines les Suisses commencent a se desabuser, ainsi il sera necessaire de se seruir de deux voyes. La premiere, des lettres du Roy au Canton de Berne et d'autres au Canton de Suric par lesquelles lon demandera auec toute la force de la puissance souueraine la remise de parricides auquels toute l'Europe a refusé azyle. Ces lettres secondées auront effet car ce peuble est aisé a mener et se tient fort a lequité.

[1] Stern, p. 3.

'Je demande des lettres a Suric par ce que ils ne se peuuent [?] sauuer que dans ce Canton ou on le suiura depres au moyen de lettres. App. VI.

'Le iour que lon exposera sa creance a Berne depeur de leur euasion ils seront investis a Vevay, par nombre considerable de gens de qualité qui les empecheront de s'enfuir, car il ny a que deux sentiers par ou lon puisse euader, les montagnes estant inaccessibles de tout autre costé, au moins qu'ils ne se jettent dans Geneue, auquel cas le gouuerneur de Lecluse qui sera auec nous, et moy en uertu de la lettre de cachet du Roy son maistre les saisirons sans aucune difficulté.

'Si par hazard les Cantons n'y vouloint acquiescher ains au contraire continuer leur protection, estant au bord du lac a demy lieue de Scauoye dans vn bourg ouuert, si par intrigue lon peut insinuer dans leur cabale quelqvn qui nous donne aduis de lestat de la maison, crainte de caues ou de fausses portes ou ils pourroint se cacher, nous viendrons asses forts pour les prendre par surprise malgre le bourg.

'Et pour la seurete de la noblesse de Scauoye qui est disposée a seruir sa maiesté dans cette occasion, et dont lun de principaux est icy venu pour en asseurer le Roy, nous ne demandons qvne lettre a son Altesse de Scauoy, par laquelle sa maieste donnera son aveu de en auoir employé les nommés a scauoir . . . comme aussi de donner passage; pour la derniere clause elle est invtile, car le peuble dans tous le Cantons de Fribourg Lucerne et ces autres qui ne sont pas puritains pendroint ces assassins, sils les auoint en leur pouuoir, sur la moindre lettre du Roy.

'Cependant si sa maieste faisoit scauoir aux Geneuois qu'ell' est deüement informée de leur tentatiues et de leur bons aduis, elle fera cesser leur malice. Car ils craignent et ils ont fait reimprimer et distribuer par toute la France la pretendue justificacions des assassins. Il y en a six a Lozane, lon croit que cest le fils de Cromwell.'

[Endorsed] 'Mons[r] Riodans paper receued Decemb. 29. 63.'

V.

[*An Extract of a letter from Zurich by one of the Divinitie Readers there, in December* 1663.]

'We heare that one called my lord Ludlow, an English fugitive who lived in Savoy, was like to be killed by some Savoyards, and that he is fled from thence, and is now upon the borders of the Canton of Berne. There are likewise in the same Canton other English men, and we see some now and then passing through these parts, whom we would apprehend, if we knew they had been any ways accessary to the late Kings murther, or that they were not loyal to his Majestie that now

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, lxxxvi. 16.

App. VI. reigneth in England. It were well that his Majestie did signifye some thing of his pleasure concerning his fugitive subiects, chiefely to the Magistrates of the Canton of Bern, whither they resort most, by reason the said Canton borders upon so many other states. I am certain his Majestie would receave all manner of satisfaction ; all the Protestant Cantons earnestly desiring a good correspondence with that King, who is the crown of our head, and to be as well beloved of his Majestie, as we have been of all his predecessours ever since Reformation. It has been a great satisfaction to us all, to heare his Majestie was pleased to interpose for those poor persecuted Churches of Piemont. God will bless him the more for it[1].'

VI.

[*An intercepted letter from one of the exiles.*]

'THE 14th Nouember last being Saturday, ther came to the town where wee at present are quartered (which is the lake of Geneva) ten unknowne persons and four boatmen, who came from the Sauoy side ; they landed about six in the darke of the evening, and betook themselues to two Innes pretending they were Papists, and on the morrow being the Sabboth they were to goe to F[ribourg], a popish Canton, to pay their devotion to a Saint that workes miracles as they say ; to colour all the more, they hired horses for that purpose, and sate up all night in a pensiue manner, calling up the people of the house early who thought they would for [Fribourg], but those votaries had another designe ; being instructed by a spie (whom wee had observed sometimes in the towne) these persons placed themselues upon the avenues from our house, some before and some behind and some upon ye crossewaies, that they might fall upon us, surprize and assassinate us, going to the church. There designe was very cunningly laid ; the spie hauing acquainted them what an opportune season that was, men, women and children being gone to church as usually they doe before wee set out of our lodgings, the church being at some distance from the towne, they made no doubt but to seize us in our accustomed way to it, no body being there to rescue us ; this plott had taken effect if the Lord had not prevented the bloody villians. Our landlord, a very honest man, staying that morning longer then usual, went out with a neighbour a little before us, and saw two unknowne persons, ruffian like fellows, desperados with long cloakes and carbines under them ; presently they apprehended they were some that intended us mischeif, and looking behind him he saw more of the like crew, and walking a little further perceived the auennues of his house guarded, and the way to the church beset with the rest, whereat hee presently retired to us who were at that instant setting out. After a little pauze wee resolued to goe to the meeting place, but to goe anoder

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, lxxxvi. 109.

way then formerly, but yet M^r^ Phillips and my selfe walked some few steps towards them, as if wee intended the usual way, and hauing seen what wee were informed of wee soddainly retorned anoder way, and soe disappointed the surprize. They were grim fellows, and seemed resolute to doe mischeif; finding themselues discovered one of them came to the church to see what was becom of us, the rest retired to the Inn where they sate disconsolate for loosing their enterprize ; they had prepared their boates ready for flight, and had cut the cordes of other boats that they might not bee pursued. When wee came from the church the people began to take an alarme because the cordes of their boats were cut, and they threatned those boatmen to carry them before the officer, which made them presently call their masters, who made great hast to their boats, and rowed away with all speed, otherwise they would haue been taken and suffered the wheele which is death. The Magistrats here are very sensible of it, hauing ordred all Innes euery night to be searched, and a watch about our house, and men in readinesse upon the least suspicion. At our coming from the church wee walked to the boats and saw all as retaled, the cords cutt &c.; these villains were made up of 4 french, 2 sauoyers, 2 English or Irish who paid all, and 2 of other places; they were of some quality, they had 2 laqies or pages, and 4 boatmen, all of desperate resolucion. The Magistrates here daily search for suspicious persons, it much comforts us, that the Lord had prouided a sanctuary for his outcast. Men, women, and children of this place, and the peasants of the contrey are soe passionate on our behalfe that they call a great man rogue. Thus you see how the Lord is a God hearing prayer, and how wonderfully hee hath preserued us. I have been the larger that all friends might rejoice with us and lay our condition before the Lord.'

[Endorsed] 'A letter writt from the Regicides to their brethren here of an attempt made upon their persons where they are[1].'

VII.

[*An information concerning the exiles.*]

'*Ce 8me aust de pontarly en Comté proche neufchastel.*

'MONSEIGNEUR

'Je donne quelque intervalle a mes lettres dans la creance de porter des nouelles moy meme, mais ma partye qui de fanatique est devenu frenetique par ses terreurs paniques m'a rompu mes mesures. Il s'estoit vante qu'il ne nous euiteroit point luy sixieme, et dans cette creance je me suis a proché de luy dimanche passé, ayant fait entrer deux gentilhomes au temple, et des qu'il les a veus luy et les autres ont gagné le clocher auec le carillonneur qui donna l'alarme. Il n'eust iamais la seureté de sortir que le magistrat n'eust esté les escorter a main armée, bien qu'ils fussent tous armes de pistolets d'arson au

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, lxxxvi. 110.

App. VI. nombre de huict. et ce qui me rend inconsolable est que tous les autres ont passé par nos mains sans que nous les ayons iugé digne de nos soins. Et pour luy il se cache auec tant de precaution qu'il est quasi impossible q'vn visage estranger ou inconnu le puisse aborder. Je respondrai bien pour luy que les affaires qu'on luy fait icy l'occupent asses pour luy oster la pansée de songer aillieurs. Ils ont quitté leur poste de nuict et se sont retirés a Lozanne, ou ils sont auec douze gardes que le magistrat leur fournit, tout ce que ie vous asseure est si public et si notoire que tous les estats voisins le scauent. Pour moy je ne suis pas connu du tout. On soubsonne que je suis de la troupe, mais voila toute la certitude qu'ils en ont. Ils ignorent par ordre de qui ny commant, et asseurent qu'il ny a point d'ordre contre eux, et je fait glisser par tout que ces sont de particuliers qui se veulent venger des outrages que on leur a fait, et que lestat ne se soucie du tout de cette canaille que le Roy a chassé d'Angleterre comme Saint Patrice a chassé les serpents d'Irlande. On m'a fort respecté a Vevay, mais j'en ay l'obligacion a mes mousquetons et que le pais de Valées est a vn card de lieu ou je me suis retiré et passé pour officier de Bourgogne pour les Mylannois. Ils ont esté fort raillés d'auoir pris lalarme pour le passage des Bourguignons qui ne songent pas a luy ny aux autres, et il a eu du chagrin de cette poltronerie. Je souffre vne depanse qui mobligera a precipiter mes affaires, et si elles n'ont pas vn succes tout entier ce sera faute d'y fournir abondement le necessaire contés Je vous supplie le temps et faittes enqueste de mon procedé et vous verres que la menagerie et la fidelité ne peuuent rien adiouster a mes diligences

el criade del criade
de su excellencia.

'Je vous supplie monseigneur d'asseurer que quand je voudrai auoir du bien du roy je le demanderai en peur don, et que pour le surplus j'emploirai le tout et audela a son seruice.

'Si Cydnei est icy il est deguissé plus qu'a l'ordinaire, et je ne puis pas scauor au vray sil y est. Ils sont huit sans valets.'

[Endorsed] Augst 8, 1664 mons^{r} R. ansr^{d} 29 Aug.
Pontarly proche Neufchasteau 8 Aug. 64. M^{r} Riordan.

[Addressed] for the most Right honorable Sir Henry Benets Knight principal secretary of state and vnto the priui Conseil of his most excellent maiestie of great Brittany, London.

[Enclosure.]

'Mons^{r} Roussel m'a demandé qui est celuy qui m'employoit. Je luy ay respondu que pour des pareilles occasions il ne falloit pas demander employ, qu'il falloit le prendre, que pour moy personne ne m'auoit donné aucun ordre, qu'il est vray que son altesse Roiale Monseigneur le duc m'a temoigné qu'il en seroit aise, et que dans lesperance dvn meilleur employ, je taschois de me rendre vtile celuy icy. Je me suis plaint que

i'avois escrit et que lon ne faisoit pas cas de mes lettres. Et que je souaittois qu'il voulut estre temoin oculaire de toutes choses pour en rendre conte. App. VI.

'259 (Ludlow) a fait venir des ciens de chasse, et il a 5 cheuaux espagnols qu'il dit estre des presents, qui sont fort beaux. Cela n'empeche que sur les frequentes alarmes qu'on luy donne, tantot fausses tantot veritables, il n'ait establi son alcoue et son lict dans vn grenier proche de tuiles, ou il monte tous les soirs, et retire deuers luy l'eschele, ayant rompu le degré; il ne luy manque que la corde et la potence. J'espere qu'il les aura. Je vous supplie Monseigneur de me continuer l'honeur de vostre protection, et de crere que iamais home n'a si senserement ny si fortement trauaillé, que iamais home n'a plus veillé et plus fatigué sans auoir quelque succes. Je ne pas que trois semaines a esperer, passé lesquelles, on pourra accuser la fortune et iamais ny mon zele ny ma passion pour le seruice quand je vous ay pour patron[1].'

VIII.

[*Extracts from the English newspapers relating the assassination of John Lisle.*]

'*Geneva, Aug.* 31, 1664.

'I send you here the breviate of an action (not having time to write it at length) which I am confident will give you somewhat of wonder and satisfaction.

'Certain Irish-men (as we here believe, although some report them to be French, or Savoyards) having intelligence, that a knot of the murtherers of his late Majesty of Great Britain were gotten together at Losanna; and there entertain'd, and protected by the magistracy of the place; entred into a consultation how they might seize and carry off some of these execrable regicides, and finally deliver them up to the justice of that government which they had so barbarously betrayed. The persons named to be in that gang, were Ludlow, Goffe, Lisle, Whaly, Fare, and some others: and the resolution taken was (as reported) in the habit of lacquayes, to attempt a surprisal of them; under which disguise they put their designe in execution, upon the 21 instant; and attacqued them as they were going to church, under the very guards of the town, and in company with the bailiffs and burgomasters of the place. But finding it impossible to bring any of them off alive, they fell upon Lisle, and shot him dead upon the spot. 'Tis said that this exploit was performed by only three persons, who, after the doing of it, were fain to encounter the brutish guards, and other people that engaged themselves on the behalfe of these rebells: wherein they acquitted themselves to a miracle, wounding divers, and breaking through them, cryed with one voice, 'Vive Le Roy D'Angle-

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, ci. 22.

App. VI. terre.' How they escaped is not particularly known; but they made their retreat over eight several passes, and came off with some few wounds; which deliverance they ascribe totally to that providence which watches over the interests of his Majesty of Great Britain; without assuming any thing at all to their proper courage and conduct.

'This signall act of just vengeance is applauded by all people that have any sense of generosity, and lookt upon as a most remarkable manifestation of God's displeasure against these wretches, to see them persued into their securest retreats, and cut off by the stroke of divine justice in the very arms of their protectors. (To their shame be it spoken, that harbour'd them, and made a Protestant canton a sanctuary for such impious paricides[1].')

'*Paris, Sept.* 13, 1664.

'Here are lately arrived the three persons that did the famous action at Losanna; who are found at last to be Irishmen, and intend within 2 or 3 dayes to put themselves upon their way for England. They spent a week it seems in watching for an opportunity to have snapt Ludlow, but found him alwayes so guarded, that there was no possibility of reaching him; and so went to Losanna, where seeing Lisle with some of his fellow-regicides marching to church, a guard of serjeants before him; a sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other; placed between the burgomaster and the bailiffe of the town; and a train of the congregation following him: the relation sayes that one of the three gentlemen came up to him (the other staying by on horseback) and calling him by his name, in a sense, both Lisle and traytor, commanded him in the name of his master the King of England, to follow him without more adoe, or he was a dead man. Whereupon Lisle with some of the rest presented their pistols, but one of the gentlemen was too quick for him, and shot him into the body with 5 bullets out of a musqeton, so that he fell dead upon the place. This blow gave such a surprise and disorder to the people, that before they could recollect themselves, the gentleman that did the feat recovered his horse, and then all three together rode into the press, and trampling the body of Lisle under their horses feet, defied the inhabitants of the place for giving protection to the murtherers of their soveraign. After which, they came off safe to Gex; (not far from Geneva) being persued by a great party of horse, and since that, (as I have told you) they are come hither. Ludlow they say is gone with his wife to Zuric upon the fright of this president. To tell you that Lisle took upon him, and was treated by the magistracy of this town as Chancellor of England, and that he was still vested in his robe of dignity, would but give you a greater horrour, to see so impious

[1] The Newes, Sept. 8, 1664.

a wretch (in despight of hell and his conscience) frolicking of it in such a garb of pageantry. (Truly the report speaks no less). And then for this to be countenanced by a Protestant canton, and by a sort of people that have so often, and so plentifully tasted of the bounty of England, serves but to augment our shame and wonder. Yet in fine; however these regicides may for a while trifle with the bloud of kings, and outface their wickedness, we see that Divine vengeance finds them out at last: and so may all the enemies of our lord the King perish [1].' App. VI.

IX.

[*Edmund Ludlow to J. H. Hummel.*]

'*Monsieur.*

'*Monsieur le Doyen Homel fidèle ministre de l'évangile mon très honoré ami à Berne.*

'Dear and Honoured Sir,

'It haveing beene of late a time of counsell, the life whereof consisting in privacy, and upon that account things haveing beene variously represented, I have not thought fit to trouble you with any for some weekes, haveing received no particular worth the communicating; but understanding by Monsieur l'Hospitalier de Ville Neuve [2] (who did me the favour to acquaint mee and my countryman Mr. Ralfson with your kind remembrance of us, for which we heartily thanke you) that you desiered information of such things as came to our knowledge, and one of our number haveing received a lettre yesterday from London dated the 3^{d} instant, wherein are some remarkeable passages, I shall heere insert them verbatim, as sent to us.

'The Lord Morley and Monteagle haveing killed one Mr. Hastings, the King by his commission hath constituted the L. Chancellor Lord High Steward of England, in order to the tryall of the sayd Lord Morley in Westminster Hall before 24 of his Peeres, named in the sayd commission, which the common people say is the 3^{d} murder he hath comitted.

'April 24 [3]. At the sessions of the Old Bayly Coll. John Rathbone, an old Collonell for the Parliament, William Sanders, Henry Tucker, Tho. Flint, Thomas Evans, John Myles, William Westcot, and John Cole, formerly officers and souldiers in the late rebellion, were indited for conspireing the death of the King and the overthrow of the government, haveing layd their plot and contrivance for the surpriseing of the Tower, and killing of general Monke, Sir John Robinson, and Sir Richard Browne, and then to have declared for an equall division of lands; the citty was to have been fiered, the percullises [4] to have beene let downe,

[1] The Intelligencer, Sept. 12, 1664.
[2] Ville Noue, *MS.*
[3] 'Weekely Gazzet,' *Marginal note.*
[4] Portcullises.

App. VI. to keepe out all assistance, the horseguard to have been surprised in the innes where they were quartered, severall hostlers haveing beene gained for that purpose. The Tower was accordingly viewed, and its surprise intended by boats over the moate, and from thence to scale the walle. One Alexander (not yet taken) had distributed severall summes of mony to these conspirators, and for the carrying on of their designe more effectually, they were told of a councell of the greate ones, that sate frequently in London, from whence flowed all orders, which councell received their directions from another in Holland, which sate with the state, and the 3d of September was pitched on for the attempt, as beeing found by Lilly's almanacke (a scheme erected for the purpose) to bee a lucky day, a planet taken ruleing which prognosticated the downefall of monarchy. The evidence against these persons was verry full and cleare, and they accordingly found guilty of high treason. Thus farre the gazzet.

'On the last of Aprill the sayd persons were hanged and quartered. It's sayd, they tooke it upon their deaths, that they never saw the face of the witnesses in their lives, and that they were trapanned to speake some words, and to heare others speake and did not reveale it.

'Aprill 21. On our coast neere Huntly foote came a young whale on shore which was 30 foote long.

'The same day it was ordered by the King and Councell, that a proclamation should issue out under the greate seale, whereby John Desborough, Thomas Kelsey, John White, John Grove, William Burton, William Scot, Sir Robert Honnywood junior, Thomas Cole of Southampton, . . .[1] Spurway, Edward Raddon, Dr. Edward Richardson, John Phelps, and John Nicholas of Monmouthshiere, and every one of them named are to returne into England, and to render themselves by the 23 July next; in case of faylure[2] to bee attainted for high treason.

'About a fortnight since lettres out of Kent informed, that in a towne of that country, it rained severall sorts of fish which were alive, and that they covered above an acre of ground.

'That at another towne in Worcestershire a greate many doggs, more than 40, went out of the gates and there fought till all dyed but one upon the place, and that this one dyed ere he got home; a good friend of ours a godly and sober person sayth I may believe this last for an asseured truth, and that the like happened in Germany before the troubles there; thus farre that from England. How improbable it is, that there was any thing of reallity in that pretended plot for which those eight persons above mentioned were put to death, the narrative of their owne partiall gazzateer speakes plaine enough; and truly to speake my apprehensions thereof, as farre as I can discerne of

[1] Blank in *MS.*

[2] fayler, *MS.*

things and persons, I judge these persons to bee thus inhumanely buchered under colour of law, of purpose to strike terrour into others, that they may not dare speake with any for feare of beeing dealt withall in the like manner. This their usurpation and confederacy, being founded in trechery and bloodshed, must therefore (according to the received maxime) bee continued and preserved by the same meanes, as hath been practised by them annually since their returne, but the Lord the just judge will without doubt arise speedily to witnesse against this barbarous cruelty and divelish policy. By a lettre which I received yesterday from a friend at Paris, though of somewhat a long date being the 3rd instant, I am informed, that Hollis, C. Stewards embassadour, is prepareing for his returne, there being noe hope of peace betweene the two crowns of France and England.

'I had written thus farre neare a weeke since, but for want of a messenger it hath layen by mee, so that I have an opportunity to insert what I have received from a friend in Holland (whose lettre bears date the 15th of this instant May old stile) which is, that it's probable the Swedes will joyne with the English against the Danes and Dutch; that the Dutch and English fleet are ready to put to sea, but that it's thought neither will bee forward to engage but on great advantage; that those eight, who as the gazzetter observes had served the parliament (which service hee and his party are now growen to that height of impudence as to tearme a rebellion), and which for the end above mentioned were thought fit to bee lately sacrificed in England, had beene prisoners upon a pretended plot twelve months before their tryall. This lettre alsoe mentions, that news came the last post into Holland, that 3000 are up in Scotland, who declare that they will have their ministers restored that are put out and noe more put out, and say they will see who shall oppose them; that the court at Whitehall are in such great feare that they exercise much cruelty to ministers and others, and are soe mercyless to the Dutch prisoners that they starve in prison for want of food, and some of them who are alive eate the flesh of those who are starved for meere hunger (a cruelty scarcely to bee believed, but it's written), and that they are allowed but a penny a day, and not soe much watter as they desire to drinke (although the Dutch allow every one they take of the English 6d. by the day), and that severall people takeing notice of this miserable condition send them meate and payles of milke, but the gaolers refuse to let them have the one or the other, throwing the meate away, and powering the milke down the streets, alledging that they have command soe to doe. Hee writs that the sicknesse encreaseth much, not only in London, but in all parts of the nation, at Yarmouth, Ipswich, Harwich, and all that coast, but principally at Colchester, the place where most of the Dutch prisoners are kept, where they dy neare an hundred by the weeke. My friend acquaints mee that the day

App. VI. before the date of his lettre, the Lord Newport, who for many yeares was the States embassadour in England, sent his sonne to him to acquaint him (with the end he might communicate to me) that Charles Steward had contracted with a Jesuite to destroy commissary de Witt and mee; that they were certainely informed thereof, and where hee is, beeing come into those parts in order to the executing of his designe; and that they hoped hee was secured, but notwithstanding desiered mee to bee wakefull least others were imployed in the same enterprise; the same person enformed him, that the States had information that there would bee suddainly a riseing in Ireland, but I pray bee carefull to whom you communicat this last. I received this day lettres from England of the 14th instant, which make noe mention of the 3coo Scots, and therefore I believe there is noe truth in it. For other particulars there is not in them much of them [?] save a confirmation of what is in the former, and that the sicknesse encreases throughout the north, west, east, and south of England, and that at Colchester there dyed 180 by the weeke. I want words to express the obligation wee have, and the duty wee owe to our noble patron boursier Steiger [1], and therefore humbly entreat you to supply that defect, and to assure yourselfe that I am with all my heart, honoured Sir,

'Your most affectionat and humble servant,

'EDM. PHILLIPS alias L.

'*This* 30 *of May* 66.

'The witnesses at the public sessions to give a colour to that designe had the confidence to affirme that I was engaged therein [2].'

X.

[*Edmund Ludlow to J. H. Hummel.*]

'*Monsieur.*

'*Monsieur Jehan Henry Homely doyen et fidèle ministre de l'évangile mon très honoré ami à Berne.*

'*This 7th of Oct.* 67.

'DEARE AND HONOURED SIR,

'I am verry sensible, that upon my owne account I have beene necessitated to give you too much trouble, and therefore am most unwillingly drawen to importune you on the behalf of others; but truly what I moved you unto on the behalfe of my landlord, seemed to mee to bee backed with soe much reason, that I found myselfe pressed thereunto, noe lesse from the love I beare to common justice, (of which I know you to bee a patron), then that I beare to him. I trust the Lord will give the like successe to all your righteous endeavours, as hee hath don to this, and that hee will give me and others concerned therein always with thankefulnesse to acknowledge the same. Your

[1] Steigar, *MS.*

[2] Printed by Professor Stern in The Academy, Sept. 2, 1876.

spirituall antidot, which you are pleased to direct me unto against the arrowes, that threaten these parts, is an approved one; the Lord give us, and all concerned therein, hearts rightly to apply it. The wayes of the Lord are in the deepe, and the cause of his judgements not to bee fathomed by us; he hath reserved secret things to himselfe, but this is his revealed will, that, when his judgements are abroad in the earth, we should indeavour to learne righteousnesse, that by searching our hearts and trying our wayes, wee may for any sinne we find ourselves convinced of, prevent them by timely repentance.

'I have heard, that those of Basle, (where, it's sayd, the sicknesse first brocke forth in these parts), treated one Mr. St. Johns and his lady, (who by leave from those in power in England retiered into these parts), with verry great severity, upon supposition that hee had beene one in the disfavour of that king, for haveing taken part with the parliament against him, wherein, as I apprehend, they pronounced sentence against their worthy ancestours for exposeing themselves to the outmost hazzards for the procureing unto them those glorious priviledges which they now enjoy, which certainly calle for other manner of fruit then this seemes to bee. The Lord give them to smite on their thighs, and that the Lord may take delight in them as his deare children, as 31. Jer. 18. 19. 20. I trust, the Lord will bee a sanctuary to those, who have beene an asylum unto his, and particularly to their excellencys and yourselfe, whose prosperity and happynesse wee are ever bound to pray for. Since I have received yours, I have endeavoured what I could to enforme myselfe of what may bee good against infection, and what by the blessing of the Lord may bee usefull and instrumentall for the cure of those who are afflicted with that maladie, (for I find not Asah blamed, for seeking to the physitians in the time of his distemper, but for seeking to them and not unto the Lord). And speaking to Mr. Secretan, the minister of Blony, and our good freind, about this subject and your desire, hee acquainted mee, that his father, in the time of the plague which was in these parts in the yeare 1628, did direct verry many to such meanes, as, through the blessing of the Lord on the use of them, none miscarryed who observed them, save only one, who alsoe ommitted the changeing of his linnen, as is directed, after hee had swet; and least I might mistake in the recitall, I desiered him to transcribe it, that I might send it to you under his owne hand, which I have don heere enclosed. Through the mercy of the Lord, whilst it was my lott to bee at London, it was preserved from that dreadfull stroke, soe that I can speake little from experience as to that affaire; but as I have heard, and which seemes to mee reasonable, for the prevention of infection, it's good to keepe the body cleane purged, to avoyd all excesse of eating or drinking, not to frequent company more than is necessary and when one hath a call, to keepe the windowes fast shut, especially till the sun

App. VI. bee risen, not to bee abroad before that time, nor after the set, nor to goe out empty, to burne some strong perfum in the staires and roomes of the house every morneing. In London they used to burne pitch. It's good alsoe, I presume, to take tobaccko, and alsoe other preservatives for the fortifying of the noble parts. Mr. Dureus gave us the receipt of a watter, which he entitles a preservative under God against the plague, the collique, stone, and all the affections of the noble parts, of which I have sent you by this bearer a glassefull; our friends in these parts, who have experienced it as to these diseases they have beene subject unto, haveing found it verry excellent. For preservative you are to take halfe a spoonefull thereof, in three or fower full spoonefulls of wine or of watter, or alone if you can beare it; but in case of cure of any distemper, you must take a spoonefull in 4 or 5 of wine etc. Without doubt for any one who is visited with that distemper, the most probable meanes is, to fortify the heart and other noble parts with cordialls, and to procure swetting if possible. We are about making an ointment of tobaccko, which is sayd by an honest and able physitian (who hath published a booke in our language, discovering the secrets and the mistery of physitians, which hee in plaine learning calls that knavery), to be excellent good for many things, amongst others for the healeing of a plague soare. When it's made, I shall not fayle to send you some of it. But I desire of the Lord, that you may never have occasion of it, at least upon any such an account, but that the shakeing of the rod over you and the rest of my noble and worthy patrons may suffice.

'And now, haveing received a letter from London of the 12th of the last month, that you may the better judge of the posture of affaires there, I shall give you some part of it in his own words, which are, as followeth: "Peace beeing now proclaimed with Holland and its allyes, opportunity is given to our court to make warre one upon another in such a remarkable way, that confusion upon confusion attends it. Wee are all wrapt into an extasy to heare it. I waunt language, to expresse it unto you. Oh the wonderfull God, who is comparable to him! hee doeth wounders in a moment, strange things that are past finding out. The actings now are, as if they intended a quite alteration of government. The greatest supporter and pillar of this building, viz. chancellour Hide, is plucked out in greate wrath, Sir Orlando Bridgeman put in his roome under the title of lord-keeper. The councellors have voted the disarmeing and putting out of office in all places the papists. The parliament, that comes together next month, is to bee left with liberty in the management of affaires. There is a discourse of enlargeing all prisoners that are in for conscience. The new army, lately raysed heere and in Scotland, are disbanded. There is a designe talked of, to make the duke of Monmouth, (which is Ch. Steward's bastard), prince of Wales. Many of the souldiers, which lay at Chatham to

oppose the Dutch, were slaine, and many, that lay to guard the coasts, are dead, in soe much that of nine hundred that went to one place, there returned but three. The English landing of men at Christofalls was repulsed with the losse of about a thousand of the duke of Yorke his regiment, most of them killed on the place, the rest taken prisoners; but since that the English have revenged themselves on the French and insuper have burnt and sunke twenty-five of their ships, (and the French manuscript mentions something of this). Some judge, all proceedings heere are only to sweeten the enraged parliament and to get them to pass a bill of 1,500,000, which they have prepared, others conjecture a popish designe the bottom of all, (but of this I see noe ground). Rushworth, (who was secretary to generall Fairfax), is secretary to the new keeper. This day there is a proclamation, that noe papists shall come to the queene's chappel but those who are allowed. 'Tis talked, that the lord Roberts and the duke of Monmouth are to succeed Ormond in his government of Ireland as commissioners. 'Tis thought, the discontented party, if the Lord prevents not, intend to act the part of Charles the ninth. Pray for us and for the poore land, who are like to bee deceived, if the Lord steps not in."

'Thus farre my freind, by which I perceive, that all things are yet in the darke, but a little time will discover them. When Monke betrayed us, hee destroyed first the army, by declareing for and joyneing with the parliament, and afterwards the parliament, by joyneing with the citty, and I presume this declareing at present for the duke of Monmouth may bee for the sweetening of the pill, that Ch. Steward may swallow it with more ease; for, if I may guesse of the rest by the person whom I heare proposed to bee imployed by them, to witt the lord Roberts, it's the honestest party of those about the king that have now got the power into their hands, this lord Roberts beeing a sollid, sober person, one who professed most affection to our interest and most enmity to the king till 1644 or 45, (haveing beene till then a collonel in our army), of any of the Lords, haveing a considerable estate in the county of Cornewall etc. of about seven thousand pound by the yeare, and beeing now keeper of the privy-seale, and consequently president of this king's counsell. But what ever their designe is, I trust the Lord's is, as hee made use of our divisions for the letting in of that exploded enemy upon us, when wee had provoked him by our unsuitable returnes thereunto, soe to make use of theirs for his owne names sake to cast him out. Letters from Holland say, that Hide, the late chancellor, is come to Paris, and that by Charles Steward's advise; that the vice-roy of Scotland is to bee changed, as well as he of Ireland, as also the leuftenant of the Tower; that most of the secretarys are changed, and without doubt all Hides favorits, (which all generally were who were advanced), will be throwen out, and if Ch. Steward stickes to him, as it seemes he doth by the advise he gives him to with-

App. VI. draw, perhaps hee may alsoe fall with him. Its written alsoe from Holland, that the councell is prepareing an act to present to the parliament for the giveing of liberty of conscience ; if this should be as was befor designet by Bristoll and others, in order to have popery get in its tayle, and soe to slip in the whole body, the Lord will blast it, as hee did then ; but if it bee, that the word of the Lord may have its free course, that men may lead quiet and peaceable lives under them in all godlynesse and hone[sty], and that the Lord may enjoy his prerogative of ruleing in the consciences and hearts of his people without interruption, I doubt not but the Lord will blesse and prosper them therein.

'I thanke you for your kindnesse to our deare and worthy freind, the late bayliffe of this place, who is now with the Lord ; hee is much lamented by all in these parts, where hee hath left a very good savour for his justice and integrity, and truly none hath more cause to bewayle the losse of him then myselfe, hee haveing beene as a constant loveing father unto us. I doubt not but that kindnesse is now remembred to him ; that yours may bee now and always soe, shall bee the constant th[ought] of, honoured Sir,

'Your most affectionat and oblidged servant,

'Edm. Phillips al. [Ludlow].

'Mr. Ralfson, my countryman and fellow-sufferer, salutes you affectionatly ; our most humble duty, I pray, to our truly noble patrones[1].'

XI.

[*Three documents relating to an enquiry into the Religion of the Exiles.* 1668.]

In pursuance of an intrigue to procure the expulsion of the regicides from Switzerland, mentioned on p. 414 of these Memoirs, the attention of the government of Bern was called to the conduct of Ludlow and his friends in abstaining from the public reception of the Sacrament. The Government directed Hummel to make enquiries, and the following reports were consequently drawn up by two local ministers. The originals of these documents are printed in Stern's Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge, pp. 20–22, and in the Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte.

To Dean Hummel.

'*Wednesday the* 12 *of August,* 1668.

'On report of the Committee to consider the account sent their lordships from Col. Weiss touching a certain person named Roux, lately arrived at St Claud in Burgundy and residing there, and giving himself out as an English agent having important commissions, who

[1] Stern, p. 4.

demands before bringing them forward that the Englishmen living at Vevay and Lausanne should no longer be suffered in the country—ordered, that the business be heard and its further consideration provided for: be it also remembered that these Englishmen do industriously frequent public preachings, but do not conform themselves to usage in partaking of the Holy Sacrament, in that they do not communicate publicly before the congregation, but apart and at home in their houses. On this their gracious Lordships wish to know his report, and whether he has any objection to this innovation. Which he is requested speedily to make known to their Lordships [1]. App. VI.

Letters from two Ministers to the Bailiff of Vevay.]

'*Monseigneur.*

'*Monseigneur Gabriel de Diesbach ballif de Vevey et capitaine de Chillion à Chillion.*

'*A Villeneuve ce* 22 *Aoust* 1668.

'MONSEIGNEUR,

'Puisque vous me commandez de vous dire, ce que je puis scavoir des raisons, que ces messieurs Anglais allèguent pour se justifier de ce qu'ils ne participent point avec nous à la cène du Seigneur, je vous diray, que messieurs les pasteurs de Vevey, qui ont charge d'ame en cette ville là, vous en pourroyent mieux instruire que moy, qui ne les ay veu que rarement et en visite. Cependant je pourray bien vous assurer, que j'ay ouy dire à feu monsieur le chevallier Johns [2], qu'il seroit bien à désirer, que l'on observât au milieu de nous l'excommunication, à la mode des autres églises réformées, et en la forme quell' est enseignée par nos propres docteurs dans les académies de Berne et de Lausanne, puisque, sans une excommunication actuelle et particulière des personnes scandaleuses, toute sorte de personnes indifferemment s'approchent de la table du Seigneur. Laquelle est infalliblement contaminée, si des personnes scandaleuses y participent, sans avoir premièrement témoigné publiquement leur repentance, et fait paroître leur amendement.

'Et pour appuyer son dire, il me souvient, qu'il employat la deffense, que l'apostre I Cor. 5, v. 9. 11 fait aux fidèles, de ne se mesler ny de ne manger point avec les scandaleux, qui néanmoins se disent frères, disant, que s'il ne faut pas seulement converser familièrement avec eux dans la vie commune, beaucoup moins faudra il avoir communion avec eux

[1] Translated from the extract printed by Professor Stern, Ergänzungen zu den Briefen Englischer Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz. Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte, 1874, p 86.

[2] i. e., Johnson, or Cawley.

App. VI. aux actes ecclésiastiques et religieux, tel qu'est entre tous les autres celuy de la sainte cène, en laquelle les communians sont faits un pain et un corps, de sorte, que, si les personnes scandaleuses sont des taches et des souillures en ce repas sacré, il ne peut estre que bon, de les oster et de s'en purger. Jud. v. 12. 2 Pet. 2. 13.

'Il me souvient aussi que, sortant une fois de chez ce brave monsieur le général Ludlau [sic], comme je luy disois, que chacun le voyoit de bien bon œil dans Vevey, mais que plusieurs le cheriroyent encore d'advantage, s'il venoit avec nous à la communion, il me répondit tout sur le champ sur les dégréz de sa maison: "Dites a ceux d'entre les gens de bien, qui s'en scandalizent, ce que nostre Seigneur Jésus répondit à ses disciples, lorsqu'ils luy disoyent: 'Nous avons veu un homme, qui chassoit les diables en ton nom, lequel ne nous suit point, et nous l'en avons empesché, d'autant qu'il ne nous suit point' auxquels le Seigneur répondit: 'Ne les en empeschez point, car celuy qui n'est pas contre nous est pour nous'"; or dit-il: "Nous taschons de vivre selon Dieu et de chasser le diable par une vie autant régénerée, qu'il nous est possible, et si bien nous ne vous suivons pas de corps en la communion du Seigneur, nous sommes cependant pour le Seigneur et non contre luy," adjoutant, que c'estoit là leur response au pire jugement, que l'on peut faire d'eux.

'C'est la, Monseigneur, tout ce que je puis vous répondre pour le présent, sur quoy je vous souhaitte très humblement le bonjour et a madame la ballive, me disant avec tout respect,

'Monseigneur, vostre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

'Abraham Mennet.'

'*Au noble, magnifique et puissant Seigneur Monseigneur de Diesbach balif de Vevay et capitaine de Chillon mon très honoré Seigneur à Chillon.*

'Magnifique et puissant Seigneur,

'Pour satisfaire a celle, dont vostre Seigneurie m'a honoré touchant les raisons, pour lesquelles messieurs les Anglais ne participent pas avec nous à la sainte cène, je vous diray, magnifique Seigneur, que, comme nous avons de la peine d'entendre leur langage, nous n'avons pas peu conférér avec eux, comme nous l'aurions souhaitté; mais bien diray-je qu'ayant conféré avec feu monsieur Janson, qui est mort ici à Vevay, parcequ'il parloit encor Latin en pouvions comprendre son intention, il me dit, que ce qui leur empeschait de communier c'estoit parceque dans ce pays on reçoit toutes sortes de personnes au sacrement, sans qu'il s'exerce aucune excommunication, et que l'apôtre, disant au cinquième de la première aux Corinthiens, que si quelcun qui se nomme frère, est paillard ou avaricieux ou idolâtre ou médisant

ou yvrongne ou ravisseur, vous ne mangiez pas mesme avec un tel. Mais bien que je luy respondisse premièrement, que la l'apôtre ne parle pas de la sainte cène, et secondement que l'apôtre ne défend pas absolument de ne manger jamais avec des meschands, autrement, comme il dit un peu auparavant, il nous faudroit sortir hors du monde, mais qu'il défend simplement une hantise familière et ordinaire communication avec les meschands que nous connoissons estre tels, et que par conséquence cela ne fait rien au fait de la sainte cène ; et après je luy fis conoistre, que dans nos consistoires on fait faire la réparation convenable aux paillards et autre personnes scandaleuses, et que par semblables choses il estoyent réconciliés avec l'église ; en oultre plusieurs autres raisons, que, puisque dans le sacrement un chacun fait application à son ame du corps et du sang de Jésus Christ, que nous devons un chacun examiner sa vie et non la vie d'autruy, et tant plus, que nous ne pouvons pas sçavoir, si celui qu'on estime souillé a fait sa paix avec Dieu, et que s'il est réconcilié avec luy, ce seroit une arrogance trop grande en nous, de ne vouloir avoir communion avec ceux auxquels Dieu a pardonné et qui ont communion avec luy. Mais toutes ces raisons et une infinité d'autres, que nous avons proposées publiquement contre ceux qui s'abstiennent du saint sacrement, n'ont peu faire aucune impression sur son esprit, bien avois je obtenu de feu monsieur le chancelier, qui fut tué à Lausanne, que il se résoudroit à cela et qu'il le feroit, c'est ce qu'il me promit lors mesme qu'il sortit de ceste ville pour aller à Lausanne. Pour le reste ils fréquentent fort souvent le saintes prédications et, à ce que nous en avons peu conoistre, ils sont d'une mesme croyance que nous dans tout le fondement de la foy, et sont d'aillieurs des personnes qui mènent une vie irréprochable, et comme je crois qu'ils sont des Puritins [sic], ils taschent de mener une vie pure et sainte, cherchant aussi do s'habituer là, où ils trouvent que le vice règne le moins, comme c'est la raison, que le dit feu monsieur Janson m'alléguat, de ce qu'ils estoyent venu s'habituer dans ce lieu. C'est tout ce, magnifique Seigneur, que nous en pouvons sçavoir et en dire. App. VI.

'D'autre part, magnifique Seigneur, comme messieurs les politiques de ceste ville croyent, que dans le mandat, que vous leur avez envoyé pour faire la garde à Chillon, les ministres y sont compris aussi bien que les maistres d'éschole, nous avons cru, Monseigneur, qu'il estoit nécessaire de nous informer de votre Seigneurie, si telle est la volonté de nostre souverain magistrat, afin de pouvoir le supplier de considérer l'importance de nostre charge, et autres raisons que nous pouvons mettre en avant et vous représenter, quand nous aurons l'honneur de voir vostre Seigneurie. Je prie le Seigneur de tout mon coeur, qu'il conserve vostre noble et magnifique personne, et comble toute vostre noble et très illustre famille de toutes ses faveurs et plus spéciales bénédictions, vous assurant, que je feray tousjours gloire de tenir

App. VI. rang entre vos plus humbles et obéissans serviteurs, puisque je suis véritablement,

'de vostre Seigneurie le très humble et tres obéissant serviteur

'Josué Chevallier pasteur[1].

'A Vevay,
ce 22. Aoust 1668.'

XII.

[*John Ralfeson to J. H. Hummel.*]

'*For my much honoured and reverend freind Mr. Henry Homelius deane of Berne and a faithfull minister of the gospell there. These.*

'Much honoured and reverend Sir,

'Having been made acquainted by your late favourable letter to our noble freind monsieur generall Philipps, that there hath been some question made, by means of the Frenchman, who was lately neere or in the territories of their excellencies of Berne, concerning the religion of us English strangers, who have some yeares past lived under the protection and favor of their excellencies in their territories (for which wee humbly blesse God and give all due thankes unto their excellencies), and that itt is reported, thatt wee are nott of the same religion, thatt you are of, although our aforesaid noble friend hath more largely, then I cann, given you some accompt of our carriage in the matters of our God, yett, because I have formerly found your favourable respect to mee in my own particular, I am bold, wherein I desire your excuse, to give you this accompt or humble answer to the objection made, that wee are nott of your religion. I say breifely, thatt wee hold and professe the same doctrinall points of Christian faith, which you and other the best reformed churches or places in the world doe, and doe usually heare the preaching of the word by your ministers; and for nott receiving the Lord's supper, wee doe itt nott amongst ourselves for divers reasons, wherein wee may in due tyme, wee hope, give you satisfaction. Butt wee doe severall tymes in the weeke pray with one another, and speake to one another out of the scriptures, according to those abillities and measure of grace, thatt God hath and doth give in unto us. And wee haveing severall particular occasions to seeke the Lord in prayer for ourselves and ours and our poore native country and for this country and their excellencies, by whose favor wee live heere in a speciall manner in this our day of tribulation, beeing separated from our brethren and deare relations, wee doe acknowledge the greate mercy of our God and the favor of their excellencies, thatt we have liberty, to excercise ourselves in these holy duties, which wee trust, are well pleasing unto God, and accepted of him for you and ourselves.

[1] Stern, pp. 20-23.

'Wee are informed out of our native country, thatt many godly and good persons therein, whoe formerly differd amongst themselves in some points of discipline in matters of religion are of late yeares better satisfyed, then they have formerly been. For persecution, which in ittselfe is sathans greate engine, hath, by the more especiall providence of God been as the sheepeheards dogg, and brought in many dissenting brethren together, whoe meete peaceably (though some tyme disturbed by some disaffected people to them), and comfortably communicate to eache other such truthes of God, as hee is pleased by his spirit to give in unto them, and to beare with one anothers infirmities and weakenesses, as in Christian charity they ought to doe, whereby at length they and others, wee hope, may attayne conscientiously to observe thatt direction, which the apostle, in the third to the Philippians from the 12th to the 16th verse, gives them and all other saints, telling them in the 12th verse, thatt hee had nott already attained to those things which he desired, nor was allready perfect, butt thatt he followed after, thatt hee might apprehend thatt, for which alsoe hee was apprehended of Crist Jesus, and in the 14th verse hee saith, thatt hee pressed towards the marke for the prize of [the] high calling of God in Crist Jesu, and therefore in the 15th verse hee exhorts [them] to bee soe minded, and thatt, if in any [thing] they shold bee otherwayes minded, God shold reveale even thatt unto them. App. VI.

'Butt knowing thatt you are better able to produce arguments out of scripture and other wayes to this purpose, then such a poore creature as I am, can doe, though I doe pray dayly, for all the true members of Crist, thatt they may stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Crist hath made them free, (Galath. 5 and first verse), I shall nott therefore farther trouble you att present, humbly begging pardon, for whatt I have donn, desiring, thatt you will please to make a favourable construction of whatt I write, the occasion thereof beeing sudden to us. Hoping thatt itt may satisfy, thatt wee doe heare the ministers preache in the publicke places, where wee live and do communicate with one another in the word and prayer, and doe noe wayes oppose or disturbe the practise of the government in the churches of this well governd comonwealthe, hoping alsoe, thatt the insinuations of any ill-minded men to us shall nott prevayle with their excellencies any wayes to diminish their favours towards us, wee endeavouring by all meanes to carry ourselves without offence to all men. Sir, I humbly begg your pardon againe for all trouble, and comending you to the gratious direction and protection of the Allmighty, I remain

'Your most humble and faithfull servant

'Jo. Ralfeson[1].

'23 *August* 1668.'

[1] Stern, p. 10.

App. VI.

XIII.

[*Edmund Ludlow to Dean Hummel.*]

'*Monsieur*,

'*Monsieur Jehan Henry Hommel doyen et fidèle ministre de l'évangile mon très honoré ami à Berne.*

'Deare and truly honoured Sir,

'Feareing least my prolixity in the narrative I tooke the liberty to send you some months since of my petty concernements, might have wearyed your patience, is the principall ground of this addresse unto you, to assure you, that I should not have presumed to have given you that trouble, but that I thought it my duty to arme yourselfe, (whome the Lord hath made specially instrumentall in our protection and preservation), and the rest of our friends with you, with what to answere on our behalfe, (in relation to our desire to lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godlynesse and honesty under the faveur of their excellencyes protection, and to follow peace with all men, soe farre as wee may enjoy holynesse), in case any should have endeavoured to reproach us on that account, which I knew not, but might have been attempted, in that such steps had been taken therein, as I never expected nor could have immagined; but I desire to eye the hand of the Lord therein, rather then that of man, and to commit myselfe to him, our faythfull creator, in well doing. I doubt not, but you have heard of the sad condition, the Lords people are in England, the rage of the enemy beeing growen to a great heigth, Lotherdale haveing raised a considerable army in Scotland of such as are ready to further their master's designe, and Barkeley, a fit instrument for popery, beeing on doing the like in Ireland, whither hee is sent as deputy in the roome of the lord Roberts, who, before hee had been on that place in that charge 4 months, was recalled for haveing been too severe against the papists; and some probability there is, that, if there were need of the king of France his assistance to further the designe, it is in a readynesse, and that the king of France his sending over the duchesse of Orleance, to speake with her brother at Dover is about some such thing, and my last lettres from England mention an apprehension of the king of France his transporting of 32,000 men from Brest thither; but, as to outward appearance, there will not bee need of them, those, who at present exercise the legislative authority in both houses, beeing soe given up to serve their master's will, that I know not what they will stick at. In December last they, upon inspection of the disbursements of the late warre with Holland, found that Cartwright, the treasurer, had cousened the Commonwealth of many hundred thousand pounds, and declared him uncapable, of beareing any office in the Commonwealth, and that hee should bee banished the court. This their king tooke soe ill, that, though they were on giveing him mony and passeing a verry severe law against nonconformists, he adjournes them till

February following, at which time barely on their master's testimoniall of the integrity of the sayd Cartwright, and on his command, they desist from prosecution of that affaire, unite England and Scotland, that the Scotish army may march to his assistance and yet without invasion, give him mony, passe an act for the divorce of the lord Rosse and giveing him power to re-marry, (wherein their king contrary to all custome hath fower days debateing of it in the lords house, intending, as is supposed, to make a precedent thereof for his owne divorce, it beeing there urged by Wilkins (who maryed Cromwell's sister, and is now a bishop, a creature of Buckingham's and the only bishop for this act, all Yorke's party beeing against it) that divorce might bee not only in case of adultery, but alsoe of the immundicity of the womb, which is given forth to bee the queens condition, and wherewith she was soe touched, that shee wept day and night, though her husband to appease her for the present, sweares he will have him hanged that shall speake thereof), and to testify the continuance of their old hatred against the righteous seed, passe the most severe act they could immagine against such who dare not worship the immage of their and their Nebuchadnezzars setting up, haveing given themselves up to the Lord, to serve him according to his will, revealed in the word. This is soe grosse, that many who formerly acted under them, both in citty and country, resolve to lay downe their commissions, a hundred pounds beeing imposed by that act on that justice of the peace who shall show any backwardnesse in the putting thereof in execution. Many congregations of the people of God in London and the country, not carefull soe much of the issue, as of the doing of their duty in this matter, resolve to continue their meetings as formerly. I could particularise the clauses of the act, and acquaint you with the horridst rage, committed by three lords in Ireland on the wife of one of the parliaments party there, her husband comeing home immediately after the villany was committed, finding an iron instrument in the body of his wife, and understanding from her, before shee expiered, how the sayd three lords, one keeping the doore and the other two holding of her, forced her by turnes, two of which are fled, and the other, entituled the lord Clanneboie (haveing six thousand pound by the yeare), haveing given caution to submitt to his tryall.

'But I feare, whilst I am makeing an apologye for the last trouble I gave you, I should bee guilty of the same fault, and therefore with the tender of the hearty respects and service of my wife and my countrymen, and with the assurance of my readynesse on all occasions to love, honour and obey you, I committ you to the guidance and protection of the Lord, subscribeing myselfe,

'Honoured Sir,

'Your most affectionat, faithfull and oblidged servant

'EDM. PHILLIPPS *al.* LUDLOWE.'

App. VI. 'Our most humble duty, I pray, to our noble patrones, wee dayly pray for the restitution of the health of our truly honoured friend monsieur le boursier Steigar. Wee heare hee hath layed downe his commission. The Lord direct your excellencyes in the choyse of his successour.

'By this little coppy of verses enclosed, which was sent me from London, you may make a ghesse, how affaires goe there. This 10th of June 1670[1].'

XIV.

[*Edmund Ludlow to Dean Hummel.*]

'*Monsieur*

'*Monsieur Jehan Henry Hommel doyen et fidèle ministre de l'évangile mon très honoré ami.*

'MOST HONOURED AND DEARE SIR,

'Though I have much to acknowledge to the Lord and to you for your extraordinary and continued kindnesse to us, and particularly for the assurance which you were pleased to give us thereof by your minding our noble bailiffe by our honored friend Mr. Tribolow[?] to continue his wounted care of us, and by your enjoyneing one who formerly served your noble friend generall D'arloche, upon his comeing into these parts, to visit us, and to give us to know that wee had still the happynesse, to live in your favour and esteeme, yet the principall occasion that prevayled with mee, to improve the opportunity of two ladyes of the noble familye of the Steigars returne of importuneing you with these, is to conveigh these few lines enclosed unto you; to which haveing referred in those I lately presumed to trouble you withall, as containeing, in the opinion of some, a briefe description of the designe, carrying on in England; and upon perusall of my papers finding them not to be sent and presumeing I sent some other papers in the steed of them, I thought fit to rectify the mistake, and humbly to begg your pardon for the same.

'My last letters, which were dated the third instant June, London, informe, that though the enemy bee very forward to put their persecuting law in execution, yet that it's hoped they cannot find hands, the people generally sideing with the people of God therein, who are resolved to obey God rather then men, and not forsake their assemblings together according to his appointment, soe that the earth helping the woman, and not suffering the bodys of the Lords slaine witnesses to be buryed, it's hoped, that, as my father at the beginning of the troubles with us, answered, when I desiered to know of him the cause of his sadnesse, that it was because hee doubted, there would not bee found

[1] Stern, p. 12.

enough of honest men to punishe the knaves, soe now, that there will not bee found knaves enough to punish the honest men ; to the Lord alone bee the glory, for its certainely his doing.

'My wife and countrymen present you with their most sincere love and service. Our most humble duty, I pray, to all our noble patrones, whom I commit with yourselfe unto the guidance and protection of the Lord of hosts, the prince of peace, in whom I am,

'Most honoured Sir,

'Your most faithfull, oblidged and most affectionate servant

'EDM. PHILLIPPS *al.* LUDLOWE [1].

'*This 21th of June* 1670.'

XV.

[*John Ralfeson to Dean Hummel.*]

'*A Monsieur*

'*Monsieur Henrie Homelius doine de Berne et révérend minister evangele* [*sic*] *mon très honoré ami*

'*à Berne.*

'[*Respondi 7. Martii* 1671].

'REVEREND AND MUCH HONORD SIR,

'I am sorry to heare of your beeing troubled with your old distemper of the goute, butt I doe m[uch] feare, itt will nott quite quitt you and mee, now growing into age, and although I have nott, I bless God, been troubled with it for neere one whole yeare past, yett I have another distemper, thatt takes mee once a monthe and holds mee 5 or 6 dayes, which is as badd or worse then the goute, which is a stoppage of my water with exceeding greate payne, and whether itt bee gravell or a congealed stone I know nott, butt of late I have not voyded gravell, as I formerly used. Butt it is the hand of the Lord, and I trust hee will please in mercy to give you and mee patience in all afflictions thatt soe befall us. I desire wee may looke to Jesus Crist, the greate physitian who can, when hee pleases, give us freedom from all troubles, both within and alsoe without us, which is and shall bee my humble and harty prayer for yourselfe and mee. And I shall allwayes say, itt is the indignation of the Lord, and I will beare itt patiently, for I have sinned against him. Sir, wee all heere have cause and doe hartily and humbly thanke you for your continued and undeserved favours and kindnesses to us, especially your late ones, by sending us your very pious, laborious and learned booke, printed by you for the good of the Lords people and ours in particular, and for your favourable and kind remembrance of us with your present at Christmas last. Sir, I am bold by this bearer to present you with a small proportion of my tobacco, both old and new, whether of them pleaseth you best to accept of, I shall endeavour to supply you with heereafter, and bee glad, if

[1] Stern, p. 15.

App. VI. I have or shall have any thing els thatt may be acceptable with you. I find by experience, thatt tobacco doth mee good, though nott to keep the goute quite away, yett to mittigate the payne thereof, when itt comes. My distemper of gravell or the stone beeing now on mee, I cannot enlarge, and therefore desire your favourable excuse, allwayes having itt upon my hart, the due and true acknowledgment of the aboundant favor of the lords their excellencies of Berne, to us poore banished Englishmen, and our acknowledgements to your worthy selfe in particular and other noble freinds by your procurement, for whose happines and prosperitie I and others shall I trust, putt upp requests to thatt God, whoe is able and wise to save all those, whose harts hee hath been pleased to endue with charitie to such poore afflicted ones, as wee at present are, for whome, I trust hee will please to work deliverance in his best tyme. Honord Sir, I am and shall alwayes remayne

'Your deeply engaged freind and most humble servant

'JOHN RALFESON [1].

'16 *February* 1670–71.'

XVI.

[*John Ralfeson to Dean Hummel.*]

'*A Monsieur*

'*Monsieur Henrie Jo. Homelius fidèle minister d'évangile et révérend doine de Berne.*

'REVEREND AND MUCH HONOURED SIR,

'I could nott bee soe ungratefull, as haveing such an opportunity as the coming of our honourable and noble freind, the bayliffe of Vevayes, goeing to Berne, butt trouble you with these few lynes, only to expresse my reall and due acknowledgments of my true and harty thankefullness for your noble and harty expressions of love and respect to mee, your poore unworthy friend and servant, by your last letter. My hart is fuller of thankfullnes to God and you, for your continuance of love and kindnes, then I cann at present expresse by writing, butt pardon, I pray you, my brevitie therein. Sir, I have been much afflicted with the goute these 5 or 6 weekes, which yet continue on mee, butt, I blesse God, not with extremity. I hope, as warme weather increases, itt will through mercy decrease. Sir, I wish, I could bee able to doe you any acceptable service, only this I shall doe through the Lords helpe, pray for your and our noble patrons the lords and messieurs of Bernes healthe and prosperitie, trusting thatt the Lord will yett please to sett us more free and att liberty in another place to endeavour to doe you and them and your countrie more reall service. Sir, bee pleased to accept of these my thankefull acknow-

[1] Stern, p. 16.

ledgements to you, and with my most humble, sincere and due presentments of due service and respects to the thrice renowned and honourable the messieurs and lords of Berne, I take leave to subscribe myselfe

'Your true and sincere freind and most humble servant

'Jo. Ralfeson [1].

'12 *Aprill* 1671.

'Sir, bee pleased, to give our noble friend, the bayliffe of Vevay, thankes for his noble and greate favour towards us poore exiles, with my due respects to your good lady.'

XVII.

[*John Ralfeson to Dean Hummel.*]

'Reverend and honoured Sir,

'Itt haveing pleased God, to visit mee now for above one yeare and a halfe past with the greivous payne of the gravell or stone, which once in 3 weekes or a fortnight holds mee for 4 or 5 dayes and nights togeather to the greate danger of my life, and therefore am desirous to use all meanes I can with the blessing of almighty God, to free me or att leaste ease me of my aforesaid distemper, and am goeing towards the Spaw or other waters in Germany, by which many have by the Lords blessing received much ease, and some have been cured of the like distempers and infirmities, and therefore doe humbly desire by your meanes, I may obtayne a free and safe pasport to the said places where those waters are, under their excellencies the honorable lords of Berne their hands and seales, if itt may soe please their excellencies. And I shall ever pray for theirs and their countries prosperity, and remaine allwayes obliged to serve them to my uttmost, and att present assure you, that I am and shall bee your faithfull and much engaged freind and servant during life.

'John Ralfeson [2].

'18 *August*, 1671.'

XVIII.

[*Edmund Ludlow to Dean Hummel.*]

'*Monsieur*,

'*Monsieur Jehan Henry Hummell Doyen et fidèle ministre de l'evangile à Berne, mon tres honoré ami.*

'Deare and truly honoured Sir,

'I tooke the liberty the last weeke to present you with a lettre and a box, both which I hope, you have received, and that like the master whome you serve, you accept the will for the deed. Since then I have

[1] Stern, p. 18.

[2] Stern, p. 18.

App. VI. had a lettre from my correspondent, which bore date the 4 instant from London. It may bee hee may make a wrong ghesse, but he writes that the warre with Holland is now inevitable, the court there being preparing sixty sayle of men of warre to bee at sea next spring. He addes that clouds are gathering and thickening there, that the exchequer is shut up, and not a penny of money to bee issued thence, which hath not only begott an uproare amongst all sorts of people, but will undoe many marchants and others, particularly the gooldsmyths, who haveing got all the tradeing mony into their hands at 6£ per cent. and letting it out to the court at 25£ per cent. and sometimes at more but never under, are now caught in the snare to the overthrow of trading. I cannot immagine the end of this story, unlesse it bee to put the people in mutinering, that so the king may have a pretext for the takeing of a French guard for the security of his person of 5 or 10000 men, which if it should not bee enough to render him absolute and to enable him to carry on his popish designe in conjunction with the king of France, that king before hee is openly engaged against any other, may furnish him with more, but this is only a conjecture, but certain it is, that the Lord, who is above them, sitts president in all their counsells, and hath a negative voyce upon them all, and can bring good out of evill, light out of darknesse. That word in 21st of Luke, 25, 26 verses, seemes now to be fulfilling, and that the Lord would cloth us to undergoe the present day, for all the inhabitants of the earth shall be tryed. There are now about 30 gooldsmyths and marchants men imprisoned in Newgate for clipping of money. Our landlady Madame Duboy is now again cited to Berne upon the appell of her adversaryes to their Excellencys from an order of the inferior justice heere, for the examining of Mr. Charner[1] (a senator of Berne and formerly super-arbiter in the case in difference) for the clearing up of the businesse in controversy, and referred by their Excellencys to their examination. It's conceived none is soe propper, nor none soe able to give light in this businesse, as the sayd Mr. Charner and Mr. Du Moulin, who is likewise excepted against, and who with Mr. Charner had the full heareing of this businesse. But I have troubled you soe often therein, and I find you soe fully satisfyed, that I shall content myselfe with the applying me to the Lord on the behalfe of their Excellencyes that he will direct them to doe therein, as may bee for his glory and their owne peace. My wife and countrymen present you with their affectionate service, and I beg of you to looke upon me as one who esteems it my happinesse to have an opportunity to expresse myselfe

'Honoured Sir

'Your most hearty and humble servant

'EDM. PHILLIPPS *al.* LUDLOWE[2].

'*this 25th of Jan.* 16$\frac{71}{2}$.'

[1] Tscharner. [2] Printed by Professor Stern in The Academy, Sept. 2, 1876.

APPENDIX VII.

PAPERS ILLUSTRATING LUDLOW'S VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1689.

I.

[*Ludlow takes leave of the Council of Vevay.*]

ADIEU DE MONSIEUR LE GENERAL LUDLOW.

'Le Jeudi, 25 Juillet 1689—estants assemblez à l'ordre Monsieur le Banderet, Messieurs les Conseilleurs de Geoffray, De la Fontaine, Dufresne, De Montet, Moret, Du Four, Commandeurs Debolaz, Giguillac, Hugonin, Scanavin et Moy. APP. VII.

'Monsieur le General Ludlow, ayant fait l'honneur à ce corps de venir en prendre congé pour son depart d'Angleterre, a produit par ecrit le compliment cy après.

'Mes très honores seigneurs. Le Seigneur, qui ma pourveu avec plusieurs autres de mes compagnons en mes souffrances et exil, pour sa parole et le temognage de Jésus, d'un asyle très favorable en nous conduisant par la colomne de feu sous vostre benin et equitable gouvernement, m'appelant aujourdhui pour faire un tour dans mon pays d'état, pour y faire mon possible pour fortifier les mains de notre Gedeon, qui est miraculeusement suscité pour nous retirer de la maison de servitude et démolir l'autel de Baal, contre ceux qui prennent la querelle pour luy, et choisissent plustost de se mettre sous l'ombre de l'épine que sous l'equitable domination du Roy de Justice et du Prince de Paix, ayant par la grande bonté de Dieu depuis plusieurs années, entre autres providences signalées et speciales, amplement et pleinement experimenté les effets de la très gracieuse reception à notre premiere arrivée en cette ville, qu'il vous a plu de nous signifier par feu Mr le Banderet de Montet de votre part, comme membre des mesme corps avec vous, duquel Christ est le chef, je me trouve obligé

App. VII. devant que je parte pour l'Angleterre, ignorant des choses que m'y doivent arriver de vous temoigner ma tres humble reconnoissance vous suppliant de l'accepter jusques à ce que l'occasion se présente pour le manifester plus réellement. Vous assurant que je ne manqueray pas de s'en prévaloir pour vous faire voir à tous en général et à chacun en particulier que je seray toute ma vie comme obligé d'estre, Très honnores Seigneurs, votre très humble très fidèlle, et très obéissant serviteur,

(Sign.) 'EDM. LUDLOWE.

'Sur ce ordre d'aller prendre congé de luy en corps, et s'il le souhaitte luy donner un certificat au plus ample[1].'

II.

[*Debate in the House of Commons, Nov.* 6, 1689, *on Ludlow's presence in England.*]

'SIR JOSEPH TREDENHAM. I hear that Major-General Ludlow is come into England, and is in town, and that his old accomplices do comfort, aid, and abet him. By Act of Parliament he is attainted, and is a declared enemy to the King and kingdom. To what end do we raise taxes upon the people, but to support the Government? To what can these persons pretend, but to bring us into the same anarchy as formerly? Now we are setting things in order, they are contriving to make us victims to their passions. I am for the public security, and it is to that end I stand up. I would address the King to issue out his Royal Proclamation, to command him out of the nation.

'SIR JOHN GUISE. I offer it to your consideration, whether any body will make it appear that Ludlow is here?

'MARQUESS OF WINCHESTER. I think it well moved. The Gentleman at the Bar tells you, that he walks in the face of the nation. 'Tis necessary the gentleman should give you information. I know nothing of the person. My family, I am sure, has suffered in King Charles I's time. I speak nothing of the man, but for your Justice.

MR. HAWLES. I do not see how Ludlow comes to be so considerable a man as that this House should address the King about him. Every private man may attach him. He is attaint upon record. Many have been guilty of murders; you have said so, and yet they walk abroad.

[1] Printed first in Archaeologia, vol. xxxv. p. 114, and afterwards in The Gentleman's Magazine, 1854, p. 263, with some corrections now added from a copy kindly sent me by Professor Alfred Stern of Zürich. The letter is also printed in The Academy for March 23, 1889. In the version printed here the contractions of the original (q̃ for que &c.) have been extended.

'MR. CONINGSBY. I think it is the strangest thing that ever was heard of, a Parliament sitting, to suffer one to face you that is attainted by Parliament. Upon this extraordinary occasion, do an extraordinary thing, and address the King, as is moved. APP. VII.

'COL. BIRCH. I am in a new perriwig, and pray let the House look upon me before I am heard. For this person to come in the face of a Parliament, is a horrid thing, if it be so. I am curious to know whether he be here, or no. Pray let somebody avow him to be here before you make the Order.

'*Resolved*, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty that he will please to issue out a proclamation for the apprehending Col. Ludlow who stands attainted of high treason, by Act of Parliament, for the murder of King Charles I: and that he will please to propose a reward to such as shall apprehend him.

'*Ordered*, that the said address be presented to his Majesty by Sir Edward Seymour[1].'

III.

[*Extracts of some MS. Letters of John Heyler, Esq. in the Bodleian Library.*]

'*London, Nov.* 7, 1689.

'This day Sir Ed. Seymour, with a noble company of gentlemen, waited on King William, to desire him to issue out a Proclamation with a reward to apprehend Colonel Ludlow, lately arrived from Swisserland. Sir Edward told the King, that the House (of Commons) admired why so deadly an enemy both to the monarchy and to the King of England should have the impudence to appear here, when he was attainted by Act of Parliament, and when he was one of those detestable regicides that murthured his Grandfather: and that the opinion of the House was, that he was sent for over by the faction to head them, that when opportunity should serve he might use his endeavours to the subversion of Church and State. The King answered, that the Address was both reasonable and just, and that he should make no difficulty to issue out a Proclamation immediately[2].'

[1] From Anchitel Grey's Debates, ix. 397.

[2] Seward's Anecdotes, ed. 1798, vol. ii. page 177.

APPENDIX VIII.

App. VIII.

EPITAPHS OF THE REGICIDES BURIED IN ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, VEVAY.

I.

Hic iacet
Tabernaculum terrestre
Gulielmi Cawley
Armigeri Anglicani
Nup. de Cicestria
in comitatu
Sussexiae
[*Shield with crest and arms*]
Qui postquam aetate
sua inservivit
Dei consilio
Obdormivit
6° Ian. 1666
Aetatis suae 63.

II.

D. O. M.
Hic iacet
Corpus Nicolai Love, Armig.
Anglicani de Wintonia in
Comitatu Southamptoniae.
Qui post discrimina rerum
Et pugnam pro patria
Tandem in Domino requievit
A laboribus suis spe resurgendi
Gloriose in adventum Dni
Nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus
Sanctis suis
5^to^ Die Nov. An. Dom. 1682
Aetatis suae 74.

III.

Depositorium
ANDREAE BROUGHTON Armigeri
Anglicani Maydstonensis
Comitatu Cantii
Ubi bis Praetor Urbanus
Dignatusque etiam fuit sen-
tentiam Regis Regi profari.
Quam ob causam expulsus patriâ suâ,
peregrinatione eius finitâ
solo senectutis morbo affectus
requiescens a laboribus suis
In Domino obdormivit
23 die Feb.: Anno Dom. 1687
Aetatis suae 84.

IV.

In Memoriam
Of him who being with Andrew Broughton[1] joint Clerk of the Court
Which tried and condemned Charles the First of England,
Had such zeal to accept the full responsibility of his act,
That he signed the record with his full name
JOHN PHELPS.
He came to Vevay, and died like the associates whose memorials
Are about us, an exile in the cause of human freedom.

This stone is placed at the request of
Wm. Walter Phelps of New Jersey, and
Charles A. Phelps of Massachusetts
Descendants from across the seas.

[1] The epitaphs of Ludlow and Broughton were first printed in Addison's Remarks on several parts of Italy, in the years 1701, 1702, 1703, published in 1705. Exact versions of both epitaphs, together with those of Love and Cawley, are given in an article in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1854, i., 260. See also for the epitaphs of the last two, Notes and Queries, Fifth Series, vi. 13. The tablet to Phelps was erected a few years ago.

V.

[*Shield with crest*]

Siste gradum et respice.

Hic iacet EDMOND LUDLOW, Anglus Natione, Provinciae Wiltoniensis filius Henrici Equestris ordinis, senatorisque Parliamenti, cuius quoque fuit ipse membrum, patrum stemmate clarus et nobilis, virtute propriâ nobilior, religione protestans et insigni pietate corruscus, aetatis anno xxii tribunus militum, paulo post exercitus praetor primarius,

Tunc Hibernorum domitor,

In pugnâ intrepidus et vitae prodigus, in victoriâ clemens et mansuetus, patriae libertatis

Defensor, et potestatis arbitrariae propugnator acerrimus,

cuius causâ ab eâdem patriâ xxxii annis extorris, meliorique fortunâ dignus apud Helvetios se recepit ; ibique aetatis anno lxxiii moriens omnibus sui desiderium relinquens, sedes aeternas

Laetus advolavit.

Hocce Monumentum, in perpetuam verae et sincerae erga Maritum defunctum amicitiae memoriam, dicat et vovet Domina Elizabeth de Thomas eius strenua et moestissima,

tam in infortuniis quam in matrimonio consors dilectissima,

quae animi magnitudine et

vi amoris coniugalis mota eum in exilium ad obitum usque constanter secuta est

Anno Dom. 1693.

APPENDIX IX.

ON THE SITE OF LUDLOW'S HOUSE AT VEVAY.

Sir Richard Burton in a letter printed in The Academy for Jan. 1889 discusses the question of the site of Ludlow's house. App. IX.

A modern inscription running thus has been set up by the authorities of Vevay:—

Ici habitait
Edmund Ludlow
Lieut.-Général, Membre du Parlement Anglais,
Défenseur des Libertés de son Pays.
L'illustre Proscrit avait fait placer
cette Inscription sur la Porte de sa Demeure,
Omne solum forti patria quia patris.
Energiquement protégé par les Autorités
et accueilli avec sympathie par les habitants
de Vevey, Edmund Ludlow a vécu
dans cette ville de 1662 à 1693,
année de sa mort.

'The inscription has been placed at the south-eastern and external corner of the terrace-wall separating the Hôtel du Lac from the Lake-road. But, according to all local authorities, the topology is mistaken, and the "Illustrious Proscribed" lived, together with his friends in exile, not at the east end, but to the west, and outside the town-walls. M. Albert de Montet of Vevey, ex-officer of Austrian cavalry, diligent collector of local legends, and author of the *Dictionnaire Biographique des Genevois et des Vaudois* (two thick octavos, Lausanne, Bridel), and of *Extraits des Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de Vevey jusqu'à* 1565 (Vevey, Benda, 1848), has kindly furnished me with the following notes:—

App. IX. '"Les Mémoires de Ludlow[1] contiennent les mentions suivantes sur la maison où il logea pendant son séjour à Vevey."

'"Having retired to a private house belonging to one M. Dubois who was one of the Council of the town (ii. 345)."

'"M. Dubois our landlord going early to the Church discovered a boat by the side of the lake (ii. 361)."

'"In his way to us he met one M. Binet, who acquainted him that two men whom he suspected of some bad intention, had posted themselves near his house, and that four more had been seen in the market-place (*ib*)."

'"The government having given me power to ring the alarum bell upon occasion and to that end contrived it so that I could do it from my own chambers, our lodgings joining to one of the gates (ii. 364)."

'"Une tradition qui s'est établie vers la fin du siècle passé, et qui a été favorisée par une inscription placée sur la maison de M. Grenier (située sur une partie de l'emplacement de l'Hôtel du Lac actuel), rapporte que c'est dans cette maison que Ludlow a vécu. A la mort du pasteur Dubois, survenue il y a peu d'années, ce Monsieur, qui se croyait un descendant du conseiller Dubois, mentionné dans les Mémoires, légua à la ville un capital sous condition spéciale d'ériger en cet endroit une plaque commémorative. C'est ce qui fut aussi exécuté.

'"Si l'on lit attentivement les Mémoires de Ludlow, on y trouve des données qui jettent déjà du doute sur l'emplacement indiqué par la tradition. Ludlow parle à plusieurs reprises de cette maison comme ayant été une auberge. Et bien cette auberge était placée de sorte qu'en allant de là à l'église on passait par le port (où les barques étrangères pouvaient seules aborder). Elle était ainsi non loin de la place du Marché, puisque des gens postés sur cette place pouvaient faire le guet pour ceux qui entouraient la maison, enfin elle se trouvait près d'une porte dans laquelle existait une cloche où l'on pouvait sonner l'alarme. Toutes ces conditions ne sont point remplies par la maison Grenier. De là on ne pouvait point aller à l'église en passant par le port (place de l'ancien port actuel) sans faire un grand détour, elle était loin de la place du Marché, et se trouvait bien à côté de la porte du bourg Bottonens, mais cette porte n'avait pas de cloche. Les manuaux du Conseil de la ville de Vevey et les registres du Consistoire parlent plusieurs fois de Ludlow et de ses compagnons dans les derniers temps de leur séjour à Vevey (en 1689 et 1691). On y voit qu'à cette époque encore (comme du reste depuis leur arrivée dans le pays) ils habitaient chez Jacques Dubois, membre du Conseil des Cent-vingts de la ville. Une mention porte même que la maison de ce Dubois était

[1] M. de Montet refers to the editions of 1698 and 1707. His references have been here accommodated to this edition.

l'hôtel de la Balance. Le plan cadastral de la ville de Vevey place cet hôtel au dehors de la porte du Sauveur, touchant à la tour qui surmontait la porte. Cette maison, la seule qui appartint à un Dubois à l'époque où fut levé le plan, époque contemporaine du séjour de Ludlow à Vevey, répond en tous points à la situation qu'il lui donne. Pour se rendre à l'église (à Ste. Claire comme à St. Martin) le chemin le plus direct était bien de passer par le port. Elle se trouvait auprès de la place du Marché. Dans la porte du Sauveur se trouvait véritablement une cloche, destinée à sonner l'ouverture du marché et qui était en même temps la cloche officielle du tocsin pour la partie occidentale de la ville. (Celle de la partie orientale était à la Tour St. Jean, à l'hôtel de ville, donc bien éloignée de la maison Grenier.) Il n'y a aucune preuve dans les actes en faveur de la maison Grenier; il y en a en revanche de concluantes en faveur de la maison du Sauveur."

'The place pointed out to me is No. 49 Rue de Lac, occupied by the Imprimerie Loertscher et Fils, which still prints the famous *Messager Boiteux*, an almanac dating from 1707. The alley setting off to the north, and called "Ruelle des Anciens Fossés de la Ville," shows that the exiles were then lodged outside the town, and consequently a strict guard was necessary for their safety.'

The article in *Archaeologia*, before referred to, says that 'Ludlow's first habitation was a house at the south-east corner of the market place,' but that he subsequently moved to 'a house adjoining the eastern gate of the town, which is still in perfect preservation, and well known as Ludlow's house. Until within the last few years the original inscription remained over the door; it was carved on wood in the form of a scroll, and was given by the present possessor of the mansion to an Englishman travelling through Vevay, who represented himself as a descendant of Ludlow.' Pictures of the board bearing Ludlow's motto are given in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1854, i. 261, and in Hoare's Modern Wilts, Heytesbury, p. 26. Hoare states that it was obtained from M. Louis Grenier, the owner of the house, by Mr. Abraham Ludlow of Heywood House, Wilts, about 1821. It is still at Heywood House, and is now in the possession of Lord-Justice Lopes.

INDEX.

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